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The Use of Extended Family Groups
LITWAK

Suburbia—New Homes for Old Values
KTSANES AND REISSMAN

Private Integrated Housing
HUNT

Social Class and the Mental Health Movement
GURSSLIN, HUNT AND ROACH

Correlates of Reported Health
SHNORE AND COWHIG

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TEC AND GRANICK

Who Cries Wolf?
MEDALIA

The Use of Drugs by Jazz Musicians
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THE USE OF EXTENDED FAMILY GROUPS IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIAL GOALS: SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS*

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The general objective of this paper is to point out some sociological supplements to the psychological approach which now characterizes much of family life programs. As such, the point of view developed in this paper elaborates a well established sociological tradition (4, pp. 651-666) and hopefully will suggest additions to family life programs.

In order that this point might be clear, the psychological and social assumptions which underlie much of current family life education might be explicitly detailed.

A. *The Assumption of Generalized Means.* First there is the assumption that attributes of personality are generalized means for problem solving. Foote and Cottrell most clearly state this point of view (7, pp. 36-60). They leave undefined the specific goals people should strive for and concentrate on central aspects of personality which can aid a person in achieving most any goal.**

B. *The Assumption that Constant Change Means Reliance on Individual Attributes.* There is a concentration on the individual abilities because it is implicitly or explicitly assumed that our modern urban life is one characterized by constant change. According to this view it is wasteful to concentrate on training individuals to learn group traditions since either these change so radically, or individuals move out of groups so quickly they

are unable to use the information.***

More basically, the assumption is made that our society is hitched to technological innovation, and the bewildering speed and scope of this innovation makes reliance on group tradition and norms very difficult. It is very much with this in mind that writers such as Foote and Cottrell have sought to solve the problem of social order by focussing on individual abilities rather than group traditions or norms.

C. *The Assumption that Education Plays a Part.* The above position is not only defined by the stress on individual abilities as a generalized means but it is also characterized by the view that these abilities are capable of being improved, and are not narrowly delimited psycho-biological traits. As a consequence they have, like Foote, Cottrell (7, pp. 211-266) and Dewey (5), explicitly urged their development in an educational program, or they have, like Sullivan (22) suggested their development through processes of psychotherapy.

With these assumptions explicitly "aboveboard," it is now possible to specify what the sociological analogue might be. First, it is necessary that it allows for the maximum amount of technological progress. Secondly, it is necessary that it specifies social relations which are likely to maximize the

***For instance, group norms on courtship have changed so radically in the last twenty years that if a girl were to use the same courtship rules which governed her mother's behavior she would be very much out of step with her peers (4, pp. 315-318). Somewhat the same experience might befall the working class adolescent who utilized upper class courtship norms among his peer group (10).

*Paper delivered at the Fourth World Congress of Sociology, September, 1959, Stresa, Italy.

**For instance, they stress such factors as empathy, autonomy, intelligence, creativity, and judgment.

achievement of most social goals, and finally, it is necessary that it deals with social relations which are capable of being improved by some kind of educative process. With these boundaries in mind, attention will now be turned to one kind of social relation which empirical evidence suggests may well fit this bill — the modified extended family.

THE MODIFIED EXTENDED FAMILY AS A GENERALIZED MEANS

If the literature on extended family relations is examined, two things emerge. On a conceptual level, there is a tendency to deal in stereotypical dichotomies between isolated nuclear families and classical extended families. Secondly, these dichotomies have very little relation to the empirical data.*

What is suggested here is that these two particular polar types might be inappropriate. There is another type — the modified extended family — which (a) accounts for more of the empirical data, and (b) which is theoretically as plausible, if not more plausible, than these two traditional categories for analysis. Furthermore, this modified extended family structure fits within the boundaries set above.

A. *The Modified Extended Family Structure.* By modified extended family structure is meant a family relation consisting of a series of nuclear families joined together on an equalitarian basis for mutual aid. Furthermore, these nuclear families are not bound together by demands for geographical propinquity or occupational similarity. This differs from the classical extended family in that there is no single authoritarian head, there is no geographical propinquity, there is no occupational dependence. It differs from the nuclear family structure in that

there is assumed to exist between extended family members considerable mutual aid, and as a consequence, the nuclear family does not face the world as an isolated unit.

B. *Modified Extended Family as a Generalized Means.* The nuclear family which is part of this modified extended family is more likely to achieve its social goals than the nuclear family which is not. This line of reasoning is based on the assertion that such extended family relationships provide maximum resources for the nuclear family without adding any major burdens. For instance, it would be argued that where two individuals have the same level of interpersonal competence, the one which could draw on material and intellectual aid from its family members will be in a better position to solve their problems than the one which is isolated from such contacts. What is not obvious, and what must be clearly specified about this assertion, is that drawing on other family members does not involve burdensome obligations which interfere with the democratic industrial order of our society.

Therefore, to make explicit the advantages of the modified extended family, it is necessary to show in what sense the traditional objections to extended family relations in the industrial society may not hold. Furthermore, by explicitly detailing these objections and how they are met by the modified extended family relationship, basic policy implications for family life education are more clearly delineated.**

The objections to extended family relations in contemporary American society are threefold. These extended family relations are thought to prevent

*Parsons provides the rationale for this approach (18).

**In the following passages the elaboration of the contradiction between extended family and industrial order is either implicitly or explicitly suggested by Parsons (18, 19).

occupational and geographical mobility (which are in turn necessary for the rational allotment of labor) or it directly supports nepotism rather than merit as a means of occupational appointment (which violates the major tenets of industrialization as well as democratic values).

If it can be shown that the modified extended family does not hinder occupational and geographical mobility, or appointment by merit, then one major objection to this family structure is removed.

GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY, OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND APPOINTMENT BY MERIT

Perhaps the first step in establishing the existence of such an extended family structure is to provide empirical evidence that extended family relations have some viability in current society. There are three independent studies which indicate that in large urban centers (Buffalo, Detroit, Los Angeles) (13, pp. 79-81; 1; 9) almost 50 per cent of the middle class individuals saw relatives at least once a week or more. In still another study, in San Francisco (2), close to 90 per cent of the people said that an extended family member was also one of their closest friends. In a study in New Haven (23, p. 27), close to 70 per cent of the people interviewed said that they provided sufficient extended family aid so that if it were withdrawn, the recipients would suffer a loss in status. There is also a series of studies which indicate the viability of extended family relations among working class groups. However, these studies are not accepted as prototypical of the modified extended family structure suggested above.* At this point

*These working-class extended family structures are much more likely to be remnants of past classical extended family relations. Typical in this regard is the study by Michael Young and Peter Willmott

it is sufficient to note that extended family relations are still extensive enough in current industrial society to warrant further speculation and research.

A. *The Classical Extended Family and Geographical Mobility.*** Attention will first be turned to the assumed contradiction between extended family relations and geographical mobility. If an examination is made of past historical instances where the classical extended family encouraged geographical mobility, then important clues can be isolated which aid in the resolution of the above stated contradiction. What characterized migration in most of these instances was some catastrophic event—economic or political—which made it obvious to members of the extended family that geographical mobility was essential and *legitimate*. Granted that extended families felt that geographical mobility was necessary, it was more able than the isolated nuclear family to encourage such moves. There are at least two advantages the extended family had over the isolated nuclear family. First, the extended family by virtue of its greater numbers of wage-earners had a superior source of capital. Thus, extended family members could band together and finance transportation of any given nuclear family, while the isolated nuclear family had no such resources to draw on. Secondly, the ex-

**This section on geographical mobility borrows heavily from a study of middle class migration (15).

(25). The authors' evidence indicates that extended family relations go hand in hand with occupational nepotism and demands for geographical propinquity. While the authors show the advantages of extended family relations, they tend to ignore these negative implications for industrialization and class structure. By contrast, the studies cited above deal with middle class groups in which it is hypothesized that a modified extended family relation is not characterized by nepotism or demands for propinquity.

tended family had the advantage of superior communication channels. Thus, once a member of the extended family had moved, he became a communication outpost for those who remained behind. As such, he provided information on jobs, housing, local social norms, language, and generally aided the new migrant at the most difficult point of migration (6).

In short, once the extended family accepted the legitimacy of the move, it had two major advantages over the nuclear family—economic resources and superior lines of communication and socialization.

When the extended family did not feel that the move was legitimate, then the traditional objections to the extended family in an industrial society became manifest. For in the classical extended family, geographical propinquity was a *sine qua non* which was easily enforced because the family, rather than the individual, controlled economic resources. Secondly, the individual member of the family was so identified with it that he would be reluctant to move even if the family put no barriers in his path. Even where the entire extended family would be willing to go along with the person receiving a better job offer, it would in principle be much more difficult to move and find jobs for an extended family than for an individual nuclear family. As such, the extended family was more difficult to move than the nuclear family.

To summarize, the extended family acted as a barrier to geographical mobility when and only when they felt that such mobility was not legitimate or would lead to a break in contact.

B. The Modified Extended Family and Geographical Mobility. If it can be shown that under modern industrial conditions geographical mobility does not necessarily mean a break in

extended family communication, and if it can be shown that in fact the extended family legitimizes such moves, then one major objection to extended family relations in contemporary society will be met.

1. *The communication process.* One obvious reason why geographical mobility will not disturb extended family relations today as much as in the past is the vast technological improvement in the communication processes. As a consequence, geographical distance has become socially less inhibiting.

A second and interrelated reason for the limiting influence of geographical mobility is our moneyed economy. Money is an easily transferred generalized means to most goals in our society which means that extended family aid can be quickly given over great distances.

A third reason which is interrelated to the above is that extended families can provide important increments of aid for the idiosyncratic needs of the nuclear family which are not covered by the standardized aid of the large-scale organization. Because of the above two reasons, this aid is easily transmitted over large distances. There are several studies which document that extended families are an important source of aid to nuclear families.* What is most central about these studies is that they indicate that extended family aid is important, not only for the ethnic and working class groups or Negro groups, but also for the white Protestant middle-class groups as well.

2. *The legitimization of geographical mobility.* Thus far, the discussion has only pointed out that geographical mo-

*Bell and Boat (2) point out that approximately 80 per cent of the respondents said they could count on extended family aid in cases of illness which lasted a month or longer. See also Sussman (23, p. 27).

bility may no longer lead to decisive breaks in communication. Nothing has been said about the legitimation of geographical mobility by the extended family. In this connection it should be noted that once an industrial economy has become established, the bureaucratization and professionalization of occupations means that the extended family can no longer guarantee economic success (though they can help). As a consequence, if the extended family is desirous of economic success for its nuclear family members, it must legitimate one of the chief avenues to occupational success in current society—geographical mobility. This is made easier in contemporary society because the advanced techniques of communication have vitiated the social effects of mobility.* In short, it is argued that geographical mobility is not a barrier to modified extended family development in modern society because it neither leads to major breaks in communication nor is it considered illegitimate by the extended family.

C. *Extended Family and Occupational Mobility.*** Attention may now be turned to the problem of occupational mobility. There are usually two reasons advanced as to why classical

*In this connection, the study of Puerto Rican migration is particularly instructive. The authors point out (17, p. 51) that most Puerto Ricans move to improve their socio-economic position and not because of economic need. Furthermore, they point out that friends and relatives play an important role in the migration process. What is most instructive about this study is that it implies that the lowest income migrants have legitimated geographical mobility as a means for increasing status. If this is true of the lowest income group, it is much more likely to be true of the middle class migrants who are financially much better off. One study of a middle class group (15) provides some empirical support for this point of view.

**The following section borrows heavily from a study of occupational mobility (14).

extended family relations inhibit occupational mobility. First, differential mobility leads to invidious status differences. The nuclear family which moves up will not be able to claim the status privileges of that upward move if they associate with extended family members who remain behind. This is so because status is achieved by association with others on the same or higher occupational level. Since occupational advancement should be based on merit, it is extremely unlikely that the entire extended family will simultaneously move up the status ladder. Therefore, extended family relations are inconsistent with occupational mobility because they are inconsistent with one of the major incentives for mobility—the achievement of status.*** The second reason why extended family relations are antithetical to occupational mobility is the differential class socialization processes. A movement into a new occupational class involves a different set of social pressures which in turn lead to different values or different ways of satisfying old values. Where differential mobility exists among extended family members, they will not maintain their contact because they will have very little in common.

In addition to these two major objections, it can be pointed out that classical extended families, with their stress on nepotism, frequently weld family authority and discipline to the occupational structure, using primogeniture or some semi-biological basis as a solder. Thus (almost by definition) the entire authority system of the classical extended family becomes undone where differential occupational mobility (based on merit) occurs.

The answers to these three points can be elaborated. With regard to the issue of status, it should be pointed out

***Parsons (20) develops the general role of status in the occupational system.

that status is achieved both by deference and by association, and these two procedures are usually contradictory. For instance, the owner of a small grocery store earning \$10,000 a year might decide to move to "Park Avenue" or some working-class neighborhood in order to achieve status. If he moves to "Park Avenue" he is going to achieve status from the larger society by virtue of his geographic association with his neighbors. However, he will receive no personal status deference from his neighbors because they occupy the same if not higher social positions than he. On the other hand, if the same man moves into a working-class neighborhood, he will receive personal status deference from his neighbors because of his superior position. However, he will receive no status from the larger society by virtue of this association. In general it is difficult to achieve both status by deference and association.

However, there is one institutional solution. The family is willing to give deference, regardless of the occupational position of its members. Furthermore, in our society the separation of family and friends is an institutionally accepted procedure. This institutional separation is further guaranteed by the anonymity of large cities. Therefore, individuals can systematically receive deference from their family while receiving status by association with their friends and sense no great conflict. This is especially true for those who are upwardly mobile. For such individuals, an explicit statement of their upward mobility is likely to mean that their friends will devalue them as *arrivistes*, while the same knowledge by their families is likely to lead to great admiration and deference. Not only do extended families give the upwardly mobile person a sense of status achievement by their deference, but in general family members by their economic aid provide

those at the beginning of their careers or in the rising part of their careers with extra resources which, in turn, give them the cutting edge for their status advancement.* The flexibility of the extended family in committing its resources coupled with the deference family members pay each other means that extended family aid can cut across class lines and form strong bonds between family members.

In addition to the extended family's capacity to cross class lines, it would also be hypothesized that industrialization tends to minimize social differences between classes. This does not mean it minimizes class conflicts, but that if such conflict arises it will be between two articulate groups who understand each other all too well and are disputing over the division of the spoils.** The various studies which show distinct class differences also show class similarities. The real question which has yet to be empirically documented is whether these class dif-

*What is central about this aid from the point of view of the present discussion is that it has to do with the standard of living (housing, vacation, care in times of illness, recreation, and help with children) but does not have to do with occupational appointment or advancement. In short, this study would suggest a theoretical point which should be explicitly stated. The point of view is that the extended family primary group (in contrast to large scale organizations) has considerable flexibility and speed in allotting its resources. As a consequence, it can provide crucial supplements to the institutions which by contrast are slower and are organized to deal with the standardized problems of the nuclear family. Because of its speed and flexibility the extended family is frequently in a position to provide marginal utility at the cutting edge of goal achievement. Given the workings of the individual psyche, this means the extended family is frequently rewarded all out of proportion to its actual contribution, which must always remain supplemental to that of the major institutions.

**This tends to be the position of the English Labor Party. For a particularly clear historical statement of this point of view see Karl Kautsky (11).

ferences have grown bigger or smaller over time. It is hypothesized that with the growth of education, mass communication, and the drop in mass immigration, there is a great likelihood that class differences will shrink, not grow. As a consequence, occupational mobility is not likely to disrupt extended family relations.*

With regard to the third objection, the point is made that the modified extended family relation does not rely on the authoritarian structures of classical extended families. Rather, there is an equalitarian relation between nuclear families. As a consequence, occupational mobility (by definition) is not likely to disrupt authority relations between the extended family members. This raises the question as to how the nuclear family retains its independence despite being the recipient of aid. For frequently with aid goes dependence. This is certainly an explicit fear of many young couples. There are several mechanisms which permit aid without dependence which now might be discussed.

First and foremost, it should be clearly understood (as will be elaborated below) that the extended family is in no position in a mature industrial economy to completely satisfy nuclear family goals. Because it cannot dominate the nuclear family's major source of success, the extended family is institutionally limited in its authority over the nuclear family. This, then, is one major reason why extended family aid will not lead to nuclear family dominance. A second mechanism which limits extended family influence is that of "reciprocity." In general, extended family aid is reciprocal. Even in cases where wealthy parents

are helping children at the initial stages of their career, there is evidence of reciprocity. As Sussman points out (23, pp. 23-24), the parents derive considerable psychological satisfaction from helping. Though the reasons for this satisfaction must be explored, it seems to have something to do with the sense it gives to the parents that they are still actively participating in life, the sense it gives them of potential immortality in the memory of their children and grandchildren, and finally in the hope it gives them that in their older years, when their life is increasingly defined as socially useless, their children will provide them with succor and aid. Whatever the reason may be, there is evidence that the ostensible donor experiences reciprocity.**

In addition to the principle of reciprocity, there is a principle of "institutionalization." Gifts and aid are usually given on institutional occasions like Christmas, birthdays, or during periods of illness. These are institutional occasions in the sense that society expects the donor to aid, and as a consequence the donor is robbed of much of his discretion. The recipient is less likely to feel a sense of obligation. Another mechanism by which the donor's aid is minimized is the indirection of aid. Zelditch (26) points out that married children asking for aid seldom ask for the aid directly. They either speak to siblings who relay the message to parents or they write to parents, stating their problems but not asking for aid. There-

*This reciprocity is most clearly seen where married children deliberately refuse to accept aid from their parents as a means of disciplining them. Sussman (23, p. 24) gives a classic illustration of this point when he reports how the offer by a new grandfather to pay the hospital bill of a new grandchild was indignantly turned down by the new father. He felt it to be an infringement on his prerogative as a father. The grandfather was hurt by this refusal of aid and his pain was only assuaged when his offer to pay for the layette was accepted.

*Lipset (12) provides data which indicates that class differences have remained small and constant over time or have actually shrunk. In addition to his own data, he cites the works of Sjöberg (21), Goldsmith *et al.* (8) and Mayer (16).

fore, the parent has to explicitly take the initiative in supplying the aid. The recipient feels less of an obligation for accepting the aid, since he did not ask for it.

The study of these mechanisms by which aid is given without leading to dominance is virtually unexplored in the family field. They only have theoretical and applied interest once the nuclear family-extended family dichotomy is dropped, and the modified extended family is used as the major theoretical model.

This now sums up the discussion of occupational mobility and extended family relations. The modified extended family is able to exist despite differential occupational mobility because it can provide status deference, because it can provide socio-economic aid across class lines, because class differences in communication and values are becoming smaller, not larger, and because the equalitarian authority structure of the modified extended family is not affected by differences in class position.

D. Occupational Merit and Extended Family. Still to be discussed is one major objection to modified extended family relations in industrial society. How can such extended family relations be isolated from the industrial organization in order to prevent nepotism? One point (that extended families can provide aid in non-occupational areas) has already been mentioned above. There are in addition several reasons why in a mature industrial society (as distinct from an emerging one) the modified extended family relations can be isolated from occupational endeavors.

First, there is no reason why norms of occupational merit cannot be developed within the modified extended family structure—especially where the family has no real control over the

occupation. Norms on occupational merit are no more logically incompatible with extended family relations than norms of incest are with nuclear family relations. Secondly, the professionalization of occupations has meant that public and objective criteria of occupational success are available to evaluate performance. The fear of family influence in the past was in large part due to the difficulty of evaluating merit. Rules against nepotism were really crude measures of merit—the assumption being made that appointments of relatives must lack merit. With more clearly defined rules which permit objective evaluation of performances, there is far less need to use such crude measures of merit and therefore less contradiction between extended family and the industrial order.

Finally, the bureaucratization of jobs has divorced the family from ownership of means of production. The job is not one which can be given by one family member to another at their own discretion. The hiring and promotion may be done by personnel specialists who are complete strangers to the occupant of that position.

Much traditional discussion of the contradiction between extended family and industrial bureaucracies assumed an emerging state of industrialization. It did not give sufficient thought to the possibilities that once an industrial bureaucracy was firmly established, the areas of conflict would shift.

In this connection it is hypothesized that with the maturation of industrial bureaucracies, there is increasing pressure to develop a positive orientation towards the family. This is a consequence of two factors. First, because of the above three considerations, the traditional dangers of the family to industrial efficiency have decreased. Secondly, as the bureaucracy becomes

larger and as industrialization develops, the work relations increasingly consist of interpersonal relations. However, interpersonal abilities, unlike many traditional job skills, are difficult to isolate from the non-occupational world. The large-scale organizations have found that where they want to maximize production they must maintain incentive to work, and one of the major sources of incentive is the family. As a consequence, large-scale organizations have systematically moved out of their factory boundaries to insure: (1) a happy family life; and (2) a family which is sympathetic to the goals of the corporation (13, pp. 27-31). In short, the dangers of nepotism have been minimized while the cost of isolating the family from the concern has been maximized, and as a consequence the large-scale organization has felt compelled to stress the value of the family as a "good in itself." It is hypothesized that the extended family, which provides success for the nuclear family, reaps the benefit of this organizational pressure.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Thus far, an attempt has been made to point out the viability of modified extended family relations by showing how these extended family relations can meet the demands of geographical mobility, occupational mobility, and appointment by merit. This diagnosis has immediate policy implications for family life education. In this paper, no attempt will be made to specify in detail the policy implications, but only to point out the general paths which they must follow.

A. Geographical Mobility—Policy Implications. Family life education should stress the need for geographical mobility, especially at the beginning stages of one's career. Furthermore, it should stress the fact that such mobility does not entail a break with

extended family. In this connection, all skills which can be used to maintain communication over distance should be stressed in family life education courses. This kind of program will encourage people to move where better jobs are available, and this encourages the rational allotment of labor, while at the same time preserving extended family relations, and this maximizes resources available to the nuclear family.

B. Occupational Mobility—Policy Implications. Family life programs should sensitize individuals to the problems of class differences, the various types of status achievement, and the ways in which extended family aid crosses class lines. This may well prevent nuclear families from experiencing the cross pressures and anomie which many occupationally mobile people now feel (24; 3). In this connection, the equalitarian nature of extended family relations should be stressed. A detailed analysis of mechanisms by which aid can be divorced from dependence will reduce friction between extended family members while permitting differential occupational mobility.

C. Occupational Merit—Policy Implications. On the one hand, family life programs should point out that the nuclear family must basically make its way on its own merit. On the other hand, it should point out that the extended family is an important source of aid in non-occupational areas, though this aid can only be supplemental to merit. In this connection the student should be sensitized to the consequences of professionalization and bureaucratization in the occupational world.

These policy areas have been outlined only briefly. Many more policy implications follow which deal more directly with the husband and wife relation. However, the lack of time

and space prevent a more detailed statement. Let it suffice to say at this point that many of the major attributes of the "companionship" nuclear family would be compatible with the above presentation.

At this point, the reader should have a sense of the way in which the approach suggested above differs from the past psychological approaches to family life education. At the same time, he should recognize some of the common properties of both approaches. The social relationships which are posited above as being central to family life education are: (1) generalized means for the achievement of most social goals in our society; (2) permit maximum industrial development; and (3) are capable of development through educational processes. As such, they are analogous to the more psychological approaches of past writers in the field of family policy and might well be sociological supplements.

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SUBURBIA — NEW HOMES FOR OLD VALUES*

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The crush of population moving to the suburbs during the past decade has been closely followed by a heavy intellectual task force that has taken Suburbia as its dominant theme. Sociologists, psychologists, architects, town planners, journalists, and media specialists have all written about the subject and between them have touched upon almost every significant feature of suburban life and the suburban community (5; 9; 11; 12; 13; 14). Their writing contains a rather impressive list of comments and observations about the mores and life-styles of suburbanites, about their budgets, the extent of their participation in the community, their housing, their aspirations, and of course, estimates about the future of the suburban way of life. There is some reason for believing that the popularity of the literature on Suburbia is sustained in large measure by the suburbanites themselves—an audience large enough to make literary selections best-sellers. In view of the generally negative and critical tone of that literature, the ego-gratifications gained by these suburban readers seem somewhat perverted even though they can be psychiatrically understood.

Suburban psychopathology, however, is not our immediate concern; the impressions and conclusions offered about the sociology of the suburban community, on the other hand, are. This sociological literature is openly vituperative and pejorative in tone. It is a rare piece that finds some warmth, sincerity, or happiness in suburban life. The rest are dominated by judgments of unrelieved damnation. The suburbanite is doomed to remain imprisoned in his box house and in the conforming mold set by his neighbors.

The purpose of this paper is to question the dominant image of Suburbia that has emerged, by arguing that Suburbia is no different in its social forms than the city to which it sociologically belongs. The argument is phrased around three themes that we have concluded are at the core of most of the literature on the subject. Unfortunately, we do not yet have the data at hand that would allow us to defeat the cynical and damning views of Suburbia conclusively, but perhaps by our note of exception a counterforce can be encouraged to put the study of the suburban community into more realistic perspective.

A major theme of the literature is that suburbs are homogeneous, and undesirably so. The houses look alike,

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the people think alike and act alike. This situation has developed, it is argued, because of the social selectivity exerted by the suburbs. It is as if the urban population were socially filtered through a sieve built up by layers of graduated meshes, and each homogeneous segment dropped into its proper and separate locale around the rim of the city. The price of the home acts as the principal filtering device with varying meshes for \$10,000 suburbs, \$20,000 suburbs, \$30,000 suburbs, etc.

The population, by that process, is differentiated into several segments by the ability to pay the price. This economic filtration in turn, it is argued, correlates highly with many other social characteristics so that a concomitant social filtration is presumed to take place at the same time. Income level, for example, determines the kind of suburb that one can afford at the same time that it sets the attitudes and beliefs that are held. If these assumptions are acceptable then the conclusion about social homogeneity follows. Each suburb becomes the residential capsule for a homogeneous segment of the population, matched in most of the social particulars that make a difference in the organization of the suburban community.

A second theme, and one closely related to the first, contends that Suburbia is overwhelmingly a middle class environment. Precisely why Suburbia is middle class, or even what is meant by this class characterization, is hard to establish in this argument on other than the rather vague and intuitive grounds that the suburbs just bring out the middle class features of its population. Much of the difficulty encountered in nailing down this conception to test its validity originates in the yet unsolved problems of how to define class and how the class system functions in society. The criteria

that are used to designate classes are still very much in question and though this is much more a problem in theory than one in semantics, nevertheless it is clear in the present case that determining how middle class suburbs really are, depends heavily upon the definition of middle class that is to be used (7). Some definitions, for example, strongly and astoundingly imply that anyone who has regular employment should be placed in the middle class. If this designation comes to be accepted, then pretty much everybody is middle class whether they live in suburbs or not. Other definitions show more discrimination, it is true, but the class boundaries they construct are still blurred and do not offer much precision for analyzing the notion that suburbs are middle class habitats. In spite of these serious definitional problems and the resulting misunderstanding that is created by using class designations that are so spongy, many writers on the suburban community assume or contend that it is predominantly a middle class environment.

The final theme of this sociological literature is that suburbs nurture and encourage social conformity (9; 12; 13). Indeed, very frequently this view is expanded to mean that suburban growth is itself a dominant factor hastening the general trend of our society towards conformity. Suburbia, in this presentation, appears as a socially constricting and demanding environment, and at the extreme, as one which exerts a merciless and unyielding social pressure upon the individual to follow the norms set by the group. Several explanations are speculatively offered to account for this state of things. The suburb, it is sometimes contended, is attractive to those who hold essentially similar aspirations and values, as for example those centering around home ownership. An inevitable by-product of suburbanization,

therefore, is the creation of tightly insulated social worlds inhabited by very similar kinds of people who, in turn encouraged by the proximity of likeness, demand ever more strict adherence to the set of established norms. Another speculative explanation sometimes offered is based upon the observation that social life in the suburbs is more interpersonal than it was in the city. If the urban stereotype is that of an apartment building where people never speak to or recognize one another, then the suburban stereotype is that of a continuous coffee-klatsch between wives in an ecologically determined common ground, and a gardening-klatsch between husbands in the local hardware store. A consequence of such continued and relatively intimate social interaction is to breed and foster conformity to the standards of the group. Under such social conditions many of the control techniques of the primary group come into play—gossip, ridicule, and the public designation of the in-group and the out-group: in short, the reiterated demand for loyalty to the group and to its judgments about everything from appliances to religion (13).

These three themes that we have designated to establish the *leitmotiv* of the Sociology of Suburbia are a strong indictment of suburbanization if they are correct. The inevitable consequences of suburban social processes are to deaden free society by nurturing social forms of unrelieved monotony that dull aesthetic tastes, that level any significant social differentiation, and that blanket any individuality of thought or action.

Our objective in this paper as stated earlier is to develop a counter-argument. It may be argued, perhaps, that we have unfairly overstated the position, created a straw man, and thereby created an image of Suburbia to which no one really subscribes. We do not believe that we have and admit only

to having spelled out some of the assumptions that are sometimes left unstated. It is our position that to assume that suburbs are homogeneous, middle class, and conforming social environments is neither accurate nor adequate. On the contrary, regardless of their architectural similarity, suburbs are simply but new locations for well-established, basic values of American society: that they are, in the words of our title, "new homes for old values." Suburbia, in short, has not set in motion a serious alteration of the basic features of our social structure but has simply arranged for their expression in a new locale.

When each of the three themes is critically questioned rather than uncritically accepted, the undesirable features each lays upon the suburb are no longer so inherently axiomatic. Although we cannot present sufficient proof for the obverse view—and there is no ready data for that—at the least we can raise some legitimate doubts. Let it also be noted here that much of "proof" offered to substantiate the popular image is often not much more than so many examples selectively arrayed around a predetermined theme. Examples alone are very far from being "proof" inasmuch as they give no clear notion of their ubiquity nor of the possible counter-examples that support the contrary view.

The theme that suburban communities are socially homogeneous is the first that we wish to inspect. The problem with this characterization lies in the essential ambiguity of the term "homogeneous." Clearly, there can be many different standards and measures of social homogeneity because what is ordinarily meant is that people are alike for selected characteristics but certainly not totally like one another for all possible features. Homogeneity, in other words, does not mean homogenized. To say that the suburban community is homogeneous, then, is to de-

pend upon a categorization of social characteristics. Such categories, in turn, are only as good, or as useful, or as complete as the criteria upon which they are based. It can be readily granted that suburbs have a high percentage of home-owners and at least for this variable alone, Suburbia is highly homogeneous. Suburbs have a high proportion of young families with children, another criterion supporting social homogeneity. Other variables could be added to the list which would have suburban populations statistically piled up at one end of a distribution. Yet, no matter how many variables are assembled and arrayed in support of suburban homogeneity, obviously not all socially relevant characteristics would be included; for example, sharp ethnic differences, and in some recent instances, racial differences. The degree of homogeneity that is adduced and its presumed importance for suburban society, therefore, must remain a relative and limited generalization.

Suburbanites, after all, are almost all recent urbanites with strongly inculcated urban patterns of thought and behavior. They come, in other words, from the most heterogeneous of social environments. Their aspirations are not simply carbon duplicates of one another, nor are their reading interests, nor their associational memberships, nor their religious preferences, nor the intensity of their religious beliefs. No matter how strong the pressures of the group may be pushing towards conforming to the group standard, individuals usually balk at the full acceptance of the group norms at some point: the point beyond which their feelings of individuality, ego-identification, and self-respect are threatened. The image of homogeneity, we suspect, has been too pat, too easily assumed from the architectural similarity by which most suburban developments are known.

There is evidence that many suburban residents are only temporary residents. They are young people "on the make," working, aspiring, and ready to move up in the bureaucratic hierarchies of corporations, universities, or government. Their move to the suburbs, in many instances, was from the first forced by their income level and the housing market. What is very frequently overlooked is that the suburb offers the most home per housing dollar, further enhanced by small down payments. Good housing in the city is scarce and expensive. Urban housing, for the most part, has been allowed to deteriorate and to become blighted as construction loans and materials have been deliberately funneled into the suburban areas rather than into reclamations of older houses in the city. Younger families with limited budgets but with a pressing need for space have no choice but to buy in a suburban development. What we might be seeing, therefore, is the collection of individuals at the same stage in their family cycle brought together residentially for the moment. In another decade, the still latent differences might emerge into full view as the suburban families age and go on their own ways. The attraction of the suburban home, in other words, can be economically selective without being necessarily socially selective. Behind the unvarying facades of split-levels, ramblers, and ranch houses, there are variations in occupation, religion, mobility aspirations, and ethnic background. In time, these variations may create the usually differentiated social groups that we have always had rather than leading to the homogeneity that seems only apparent now.

Suburbs have also been characterized as middle class quite frequently, a designation which we suggest comes in part from the tendency to stretch the definition of "middle class" out of

all proportion. Not all, or even most, suburbs are middle class by any reasonable definition. Not all, or even most, suburbanites think of themselves as middle class as Centers, for one, found in his nationwide study (1). From the subjective side, if individuals do not conceive of themselves as being middle class, there is some doubt that they will act according to middle class patterns no matter how social scientists may independently care to categorize them. The fact, furthermore, that social scientists are so prone to select out particularly middle class suburbs for study and for generalization may turn out to be more of a commentary upon the values and biases of the scientists themselves rather than upon the nature of the phenomenon they are trying to describe.

There are almost as many kinds of suburbs as there are people to classify them and criteria to use.

"There are rich suburbs and poor suburbs. There are suburbs with concentrations of foreign-born, with almost entirely native-born, and with large populations of Negro population. . . . There are workers' suburbs and bosses' suburbs. . . . There are suburbs that are economically or socially specialized and those which are heterogeneous in their make-up. Some suburbs have distinct unity and are built around a definite center of community life; others are a series of detached neighborhoods" (4, p. 206).

Suburbs, in short, are not the inevitable class levelers that some writers have presumed them to be. On the contrary, suburbs still serve, we suspect, to stylize and to crystalize existing class relationships unchanged although in a different and newer locale.

Nor should the suburbs be viewed as part of a trend toward a general middle class leveling in society. It seems to us that what is occurring in American society generally, and therefore by extension to Suburbia, is that the taste patterns and consumer prac-

tices traditionally associated with the middle class have filtered down to members of the working class, who for the first time perhaps, have enough money to implement these tastes. The purchase of home appliances, for example, by which the middle class in the pre-war period could announce its status, is now possible for all classes. With enough money around and consumer credit available, appliances are quite easily accessible to all who want to buy them. This phenomenon of a widening and spreading of consumer purchasing surely cannot mean that thereby everyone is suddenly middle class simply because he is following one pattern previously associated with that class (10; 13). Rather, it is more reasonable to conclude that some of the criteria of class, which are never fixed or stable, have once again changed. A re-analysis is called for to get the assessment of these criteria back into perspective. About fifteen years ago, for example, a national polling agency could use as a rough status indicator whether respondents had an automatic pop-up toaster or not. Today, that question would be useless for the purpose.

The "appliance urge," in short, is very much like the suburban urge: the outward similarities in behavior cover over different motivations that in fact do differentiate the suburban population. In a recent study we completed of consumer behavior in the suburbs around New Orleans, we found that although most suburbanites bought and owned appliances, they differed considerably in their motivations behind such purchases.

The study just referred to was based on an area probability sample stratified by class on the double criteria of home ownership and the valuation or rent of the home. Blocks within the city were first stratified by those criteria and then sample households to be interviewed were designated. Completed

interviews with the head of the household or his wife were thereby obtained for 41 middle class and 40 lower class urban families. For the suburban sample, a heavily lower class and a mixed middle and upper class suburb were selected and random households within each area were then interviewed. This yielded 56 middle and upper class and 43 lower class suburban households that were interviewed.

The suburban lower class sample was composed of strong appliance purchasers. More than any other group the lower class bought television sets, washing machines, clothes driers, dishwashers—the whole array of home machinery. What was more, their urge to buy seemed to be insatiable. When asked what three things they would choose if they could pick whatever they wanted from a department store as a winner in a contest, most of them kept talking appliances even though they owned almost all types. What they wanted now was a color television set, a new washer, a new dishwasher, or sometimes a duplicate appliance.

On the surface, the suburban middle class sample seemed to be just as much driven by the "appliance urge" as was the lower class. Upon a closer analysis of the motivations of the two samples, however, the patterns of class differentiation were found. The consumer patterns of the suburban lower class, which we believe contains the upwardly mobile individuals of the urban lower class, were direct and obvious in intent. Here were individuals who were just a step off the beat, caught in a transitional stage between the class they were moving out of and the class they had not moved into. The suburban lower class person is conscious enough of status to move out to the suburbs; conscious enough of status to surround himself with what were once the symbols of a middle class existence.

He still lacks, however, the key element which keeps him from middle class membership: the acceptance and internalization of middle class values. Just as the *nouveau riche* mimic the behavior of the upper class but lack the "instinct" that gives that behavior the stamp of legitimacy—they are doomed forever to be "non-U"—so too with the mobile lower class. Evidence for this conclusion came in a number of different ways. In one suburban lower class home, the interviewer found several couples, men and women, sitting around the dining room table playing a friendly game of poker on that Sunday afternoon. This was not their regular custom, the woman who answered the questionnaire explained; some Sundays they played pinochle. This is not middle class behavior and no snobbery is intended. We found also that these heavily spending lower class people did not feel the pinch of the Protestant ethic at all in their unabating urge for appliances. The installment plan was a way of life for them. Without hesitation, they maintained in response to our questions that it was proper for individuals to undertake several time payment plans at once; to buy the things they "needed" and in the light of the mobility drive, to buy almost as much as they wanted.

Value conflict was much more characteristic of the suburban middle class group. In this group, people bought for use and to maintain status, perhaps, but through it all the conflict showed between their behavior as consumers and their assessment of that behavior. More people in the middle class, than in any other, believed that purchases should be delayed until one is able to pay for them; that one should not become committed to multiple installment debts. In other questions, too, they expressed the traditional conceptions of the Protestant ethic that have long been associated

with the middle class. Children should be put on an allowance and held to it so as to teach them the value of money and budgeting. The quality of the product should be taken into account before making a purchase and not cost alone.

From the total of their responses, it seemed clear that the suburban middle class was in conflict. Unlike the lower class that spent freely and without qualms, the middle class was in a psychic squeeze between values and behavior. The middle class in the suburbs bought because it felt it had to, but not without a great deal of conflict. The years of middle class socialization into the values of thrift, responsibility, and budgets were not easily overcome. The suburban lower class, on the other hand, was free of such conflict but remained suspended somewhere in a class limbo for the time, marginal to the class groups on either side of them. The notion of a homogeneous, middle class, Suburbia, therefore, is open to much doubt.

The final theme of Suburbia which we also question is that of conformity. Some of the objections to this designation have been touched upon necessarily in the preceding discussion, for as should be evident by this point, the three themes are variation upon a central statement. One basis of our unwillingness to accept the view that Suburbia is a conforming social environment has been implied in the discussion of the middle class theme: similarities in consumer behavior cannot be interpreted as evidence of similarities in the values behind that behavior. The same logic holds true in the case of conformity at the deeper psychological levels of American consciousness; i.e., in the values, attitudes, and life-goals of Americans, suburbanites included. In some of the related literature, we are asked to seek autonomy, to fight the appealing soft-

ness of the organization life that engulfs us, and to think freely and individualistically (8; 13).

If status differences do exist in the suburbs as we have indicated, then the contention that widespread values of conformity have developed seems erroneous, for the argument ignores the functional relationship that must exist between status and ideology. The theme of conformity depends upon the assumption that different classes will produce the same ideology; that is, that though their needs, their relative power, and relative involvements in the social structure are different, they all come to subscribe to the same set of beliefs. This situation seems unlikely, no matter how apparently alike the beliefs may appear on the surface, because the values held by different class strata must be functionally related to the positions they hold. Even if ideas are imported from one level to another, the functional consequences of holding these ideas probably differs from one class to another. Purchasing for status, we found in our study, meant quite different things to the middle as compared with the lower class groups.

Considering the matter of change in ideologies where a set of ideas is imported from one class level to another, let us take the Protestant ethic as an example. Recall that in part its functional origin was a religious legitimization for the successful rise of the middle class. This suggests that the ethic might be functionally related to the process of arrival. While one is struggling, an ethic of conformity with its emphasis on "togetherness," on the possibility of mutual aid, and on the alternative of blaming "the system" instead of the individual in cases of failure to succeed, is quite functional. Upon "arrival," however, it would be a rare person who would not feel his success was in large part

due to his own diligence and efforts. At that point, then, the ethic is revised to justify the successful achievement of the individual; to make the middle class the residence of the naturally talented, as clearly as the lower class is seen to contain those that cannot or do not want to succeed.

In some senses, the functional consequences are more important than the ideology. For example, a middle class person who strongly avows the conformity ethic may run his household in the fashion of "economic brinkmanship" because of the high standard of living he feels he must maintain. When this individual is able to move into a status where he can build a bank balance, even if he persists in holding to the ethic, what was formerly irrational now becomes merely unimportant.

The middle class suburban sample in our study, more than any other group, espoused what might be considered as elements of the conformity ethic. They conceded that high consumption was the norm, that Americans had a high standard of living, and these expenditures were merely "keeping up with the times." In short, these responses sounded like conscious recognitions that they were bound by social norms. However, this group also evidenced greater economic rationality than the lower class group in that they had appreciable savings even though they showed a high level of consumption. Further, the middle class group was the most oriented toward the Protestant ethic, more so for example, than their equivalent urban counterpart. This might be a carry over from middle class training norms or even the "borrowing" of those norms that can be accepted once the individual feels he has achieved success. Perhaps upon "arrival," one begins to question the ideology of conformity that was functional on the

way up and accepts the older values of the Protestant ethic that are more functional when success has been attained. At the very least, there is conflict, as we found, since elements of both ideologies were there.

In the suburban lower class, individuals were just beginning to break out of their former lower class mold of the city. There was no evidence of a conformity ethic in their reasons for why they bought or what they bought. They spent every cent they had, apparently, and had no concern with budgeting or the future consequences that can attend unlimited installment purchasing. There is no conformity among the residents of this class group because they have not yet begun the rise, do not yet have the need, in other words, of building psychic cushions against impossible failure. The only movement toward conformity, we are saying, is among the aspiring and upwardly mobile segments of the population alone; not universally applicable for all, as many of the writers on suburbia would maintain (5; 9; 12; 13).

The theme that conformity is spreading and is being carried by the suburban movement is much more simply one point of view rather than an accurate portrayal of the current state of our society. At the very least there is evidence and logic to doubt that contention. The recent resurgence of ethnic identification among the second and third generation offspring of immigrants is, in part, a reversal of any trend towards conformity. For the identification with what essentially must be a minority group serves to fragment the population rather than weld it together into a single conforming mass. The presence and effect of the power structure in the suburban community (14) and at the national level is still felt, and in many instances, far outweighs the possible impact that increasing conformity might

fashion (7). There is evidence too of a wide variety of individualistic motivations for a wide range of human goals. In political behavior, for example, the motivations of the electorate are mixed, if they are anything. In that electorate not everyone votes for slogans alone, nor out of ignorance alone, nor does everyone fail to vote because they feel politically useless and inferior. In the economic sphere, for another example, a recent study of the UAW rank and file indicated that some of the membership were unaware even of belonging to the union, and most of the membership held strongly authoritarian attitudes towards others in spite of the long years of union-sponsored education to build a strong unified union (6). Where is the conformity here, and to what is the individual supposed to be conforming?

What Suburbia means, then, is a question that can be answered by viewing it more as a continuation of the older values that still exist rather than as a new phenomenon that has somehow taken the worst of all features of American life and encapsulated them within a split-level housing development. Perhaps the fact that Americans are moving in such numbers from the unplanned city to the poorly planned suburb is symbolic that really nothing much has changed except the time and the place.

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PRIVATE INTEGRATED HOUSING IN A MEDIUM SIZE NORTHERN CITY

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Most of the research on interracial housing has been carried on in large cities with a large and rapidly growing Negro population. The findings usually indicate a bitter struggle between Negro and white for exclusive possession of city blocks with Negro blocks rapidly being converted to overcrowded multiple housing.* This article is built on the hypothesis that such development is not an inherent feature of race relations in the current American milieu but is structured by community patterns and demographic variables so that in other types of communities a different pattern might be expected to emerge. The article also considers the general questions of the impact of specific sociological variables on attitudes related to integrated housing, the processes involved in Negro dispersion, and the pattern of neighboring in the mixed housing area.

This article deals with the processes of Negro housing dispersion in a medium sized northern community (Kalamazoo, Michigan) in which Negroes comprise less than four per cent of the population. It is focused on three aspects of housing integration:

- I. Processes of Negro dispersion; channels of purchase, patterns of resistance, changes in property uses and maintenance, effect on real estate prices.
- II. Patterns of social interaction: socio-economic status of Negroes and whites in integrated com-

munities, informal neighboring activities, formally organized integrated activity.

- III. Patterns of socio-economic traits which influence attitudes toward integrated housing.

COMMUNITY BACKGROUND

The metropolitan area of Kalamazoo has a population of about 160,000. It is primarily an industrial city but includes one state university and two private colleges which together cater to about 9,000 students. It is consistently Republican in politics and is regarded as a conservative community. Municipal government is non-partisan, using the city manager system, and has a reputation for an efficient administration of city activities.

The Negro population of the community, estimated at 6,000 in 1959, has increased from 1,300 in 1940. Like most Northern cities, the bulk of the Negro population has been concentrated in a small area near the central business district. The city, however, did not regard itself as being segregated since even in areas where most of the Negroes lived they were outnumbered by the white population.

With the increase in the Negro population and a growing interest throughout the country in interracial affairs, Kalamazoo developed a degree of self-consciousness about race relations. This was reflected in a self-survey of the community shortly after the close of World War II under the guidance of Fisk University. Following this survey a private human relations organization was formed which, along with a more active NAACP, began to press for a greater degree of integration in employment, public accommo-

*The Report of the Commission on Race and Housing (2) summarizes the large city pattern. The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights did a state-wide study which included some smaller communities (13). Rose (8) and Smith (12) have studied isolated Negro residents in large cities.

dations, and housing. The action of the voluntary group was followed a few years later by the passage of a state FEPC law and in 1957 the city established a mayor's committee on human relations. Along with these activities, employment opportunities increased, most restaurants and hotels admitted patrons without reference to race, and it became fashionable to talk about the desirability of an integrated community.

The increased migration of Negroes resulted in a greater concentration of Negro residents in the traditional mixed area together with the entry of a few Negroes into districts regarded as white. The movement of Negroes into white areas often precipitated neighborhood controversy which included threats, damage to property, and offers to buy out the invaders. A previous public opinion survey showed that about eighty per cent of the citizens favored employment integration, but an equal percentage was skeptical about the desirability of mixed housing neighborhoods (3).

Some of the community leaders felt that if the "facts" about the true impact of Negro housing became known to the community, the problem could be appropriately handled. Accordingly, a housing research project was carried out by the Western Michigan University Center for Sociological Research in collaboration with the Kalamazoo Bureau of Municipal Research and with the guidance of an advisory committee consisting primarily of businessmen active in various parts of the housing and real estate fields. Most of the money for the research project came from the Kalamazoo Foundation, a sort of charitable holding company in which Kalamazoo citizens place funds available for philanthropic activity. Token contributions were also obtained from the City Commission and from the local Board of Realtors.

METHODOLOGY

Through the aid of informants, a list was compiled of 50 Negro families who had moved into predominantly white neighborhoods since 1946. This may be considered a "universe" rather than a sample since it included *all* the Negroes in this classification. These families were interviewed along with the white neighbor on either side of the Negro resident, one white resident selected at random across the street, and one white resident selected at random in the next block. Four of the Negro families either refused to be interviewed or could not be contacted, and some blocks did not lend themselves to the type of house distribution which was assumed. The end result was a study based on interviews with the housewives in 46 Negro families and 133 of their white neighbors. The interview schedule, in addition to personal data, included questions concerning neighboring relationships, attitudes toward property values and a few specific questions on reaction to life in a mixed neighborhood.

The Bureau of Municipal Research assisted in the study by making an analysis of available data on real estate prices based on sales records. It was felt that this documentary material combined with the statements of residents would provide valid evidence of price trends in mixed neighborhoods.

PROCESSES OF NEGRO HOUSING DISPERSION

In this section it is assumed that the dispersion of Negro housing will meet the opposition of the market structure which has institutionalized practices supporting the maintenance of homogeneous neighborhoods in middle class housing areas. The success of a number of Negroes in entering white areas then represents either the use of alternative channels to the usual market procedures or the existence of strains

and weaknesses which prevent the effective operation of practices designed to support segregation.

Public opinion on this matter is torn between a conviction that the good American is racially tolerant and the belief that mixed housing is harmful to property values. Both public opinion polls and ordinary conversation indicate widespread opposition to mixed housing but it is bigotry to say these things publicly and good form to give verbal support to brotherhood. Indicative of this ambivalence, the City Commission refused to pass an anti-segregation housing ordinance but did pass a resolution stating that segregation was contrary to city policy and sold a city owned house in a white area to a Negro city employee.

Channels of purchase. Only three of the Negro families were renters so that entry into the neighborhood was usually through purchase. Only 14 (30 per cent) of the Negroes reported that their purchase had been made through real estate dealers. The rest indicated that suggestions from friends, signs on property, and newspaper advertisements were the usual sources of referral. This is a deviation from the normal channels since the Kalamazoo Board of Realtors estimate that they handle 80 per cent of the sales of housing of the price involved in these transactions.* The sporadic character of the real estate agents' activity is indicated by the fact that ten real estate firms were mentioned in ten separate transactions; eight of the real estate firms were members of the Board of Realtors. Most real estate agents do not seek to make sales to Negroes entering white neighborhoods and some definitely refused to act as

agents in such sales. Occasionally, however, a real estate firm did carry out such a transaction so that real estate practice was not uniform. More important, of course, was the ability of Negro purchasers to bypass the real estate dealer completely in making a purchase.

Credit. Building and loan associations financed the sale of the house in 18 (39 per cent) of the sales. The remainder were financed by land contract with the exception of two sales handled on a cash basis. There was no evidence offered by the Negroes interviewed that they had any particular difficulty in financing their purchase, although this does not preclude the possibility that other prospective Negro purchasers may have been deterred by credit difficulties.

Resistance. Fifty per cent of the white residents living in the area at the time of the Negro entry said that they had been unhappy about this event. Forty-six per cent described themselves as being indifferent, and only four per cent said that they had welcomed the advent of Negro neighbors. The resistance which took place was largely sporadic and individual. There were no cases of mob violence, although there were threats to the Negro newcomers along with minor violence such as smearing the walls of the house with ink in one case and overturning the foundation walls in another. Two of the white residents mentioned that they had telephoned real estate companies involved and protested against the transaction. One-fourth of the Negro residents said that they had received offers to purchase their property and in many instances this may have been a technique designed to secure their elimination from the neighborhood.

Resistance to the entry of Negroes appeared to be on the basis of their group identification rather than of

*Figure based on a statement of a realtor who had analyzed property transfers for an oral report to the Board of Realtors. His estimate did not include sales made by real estate agents who were not members of the Board of Realtors.

their individual traits. Four of the Negroes with professional jobs and college education were involved in conflict situations while an equal number whose occupation was that of laborer and whose standards of personal conduct and housing maintenance were annoying to the community had been able to move in with little difficulty.

The failure of resistance may be attributed to the fact that although a large part of white public opinion was opposed to neighborhood integration, there was no effective community organization to preserve the status quo. Even though Negroes found it difficult to use the normal channels for securing housing, they were able to surmount this difficulty through the aid of personal friends and a few businessmen who felt able to assist in spite of considerable sentiment against the development of integrated areas.

Real estate transactions were not entirely confined to the usual channels and the mores of the community did not support mob action. The police department suppressed any signs of individual violence, and other departments of the city, such as the housing inspectors, did not use their facilities to harass unwelcome negro residents.

In this setting the attitude of most white residents changed from one of hostility to at least grudging acceptance as shown by the following table:

TABLE 1
REACTIONS TO MIXED
NEIGHBORHOODS

| | Desirable | | Indifferent | | Undesirable | |
|-------|-----------|----|-------------|----|-------------|----|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Negro | 21 | 45 | 21 | 45 | 4 | 9 |
| White | 27 | 20 | 66 | 50 | 40 | 30 |

Segregationist beliefs. Insofar as the segregationists have a coherent ideology, it consists of a number of beliefs about the relationship between the

existence of mixed neighborhoods and poor housing practices. It is assumed that Negroes will take over an entire area if permitted to enter at all, that they will convert single family dwellings to multiple units, be negligent in maintenance, noisy in behavior and in general be the agents of property deterioration and lower real estate prices. These views are usually assumed without the need of specific proof but instances in support may be cited from the experience of other cities as well as in the traditional mixed area in Kalamazoo.

Dispersion. While the experience of many cities has shown that Negroes tend to consolidate in particular areas, the recent experience in Kalamazoo does not reveal this pattern. The only indication of a tendency of this type is one case of three Negro residents living side by side, all of whom had moved in within a six month's period. In 75 per cent of the instances studied there was only one Negro family on a block, and in the remainder there were two Negro families on the block. Demographic factors offer an obvious explanation for this situation since the number of Negroes in Kalamazoo with an income sufficient to move into relatively high cost areas is so small that it would be extremely difficult to recruit a sudden influx of Negroes for any particular block. Most of the sales of property in mixed neighborhoods in recent years have been made to white residents and one-fourth of the whites interviewed in this survey indicated that they had moved into the area after Negro families had already been established.

Upkeep and behavior. Price of housing would indicate that the new Negro residents bought houses which might be characterized as upper lower class to middle class. An equal number of houses were priced at above \$15,000 and below \$7,000 while the

bulk of the housing ran between \$7,000 and \$15,000 in price. Only one house was found which was occupied by more than one family; this was a dwelling which had been divided into flats several years before Negro entry.

In questions on behavior and household upkeep, Negroes and whites seemed to draw about the same kind of rating by their white neighbors. Both whites and Negroes were described as keeping their property very clean by 73 per cent of their white neighbors. Similarly, 81 per cent of the Negro neighbors were rated as being "very quiet" as compared to 80 per cent of the white neighbors. Interviewers were asked to comment on the general condition of the house, and they found that 54 per cent of the white homes were neat and clean as compared to 60 per cent of the Negro homes. Judged on this basis, the Negro residents were apparently maintaining middle class standards of household upkeep and family conduct in these neighborhoods.

Opinion on property values. Respondents were asked a number of questions to get their own attitude on property values. Seventy per cent of the whites and 74 per cent of the Negroes stated they felt that real estate prices in the area where they lived were the same as elsewhere in the city for the same type of house. Twenty-nine (22 per cent) of the whites and two (4 per cent) of the Negroes felt that real estate was lower in the mixed areas; 10 (22 per cent) of the Negroes and 11 (8 per cent) of the whites stated they felt real estate was higher in the mixed housing area. The white residents were then asked to explain the cause of lower prices and only five of the 29 who had expressed this feeling attributed the price differential to the effects of the mixed neighborhood; the remainder gave a variety of reasons which were not connected with interracial occupancy.

Sales records. In order to check the opinion of the residents by reference to actual sales records the aid of the Bureau of Municipal Research and a representative of the Appraiser's Association was enlisted to consult recorded sales data on property transactions which had taken place the five year period immediately preceding the study. The mixed housing district under study was matched with an all-white area of the city which was considered to be similar in character except for racial occupancy. Information was obtained on 125 sales of which 77 were in the all-white control group and 48 were in the mixed housing areas. In addition to the appraiser's delineation of comparable districts, information was secured on individual houses for which there was a record of sale. Data for houses in the suburban areas outside the city limits included only the number of rooms, which averaged five for houses in the mixed area compared to 5.1 in the all white area. Inside the city limits data was secured on age of house, number of rooms and assessed valuation. The mixed area had an average of 5.9 rooms and averaged 35.8 years of age as compared to 5.8 rooms and 37.3 years of age for the all-white area. The assessed valuation was \$2,813 compared to \$3,026 for houses in the all-white areas, but these houses sold at a more favorable ratio to assessed valuation (3.27 as compared to 3.12) than houses in the all-white area.

The sales records gave no evidence of any relation between the racial composition of the area and housing values. For the total number of houses sold the price of houses in the mixed areas averaged \$2,389 higher than the price of housing in the all-white areas. When the figures were broken down between sales inside the city and sales in suburban areas outside the city, a more confusing picture emerged. Prices inside the city averaged \$314 lower in

the mixed areas than in the comparable all-white areas. Prices in the suburban district outside the city, however, were \$5,990 higher on the average in the mixed areas than in the comparable all-white areas. This distribution of prices could hardly be due to racial factors since in one mixed district houses in the mixed area had a considerably higher sales value than in the comparable all-white area while in another district they had a slightly lower sales value than in the comparable all white area.

In 13 instances it was possible to match houses of equal assessed valuation in the mixed neighborhood and in the all-white neighborhood respectively. In one case the matched houses sold for an identical price, in four instances the house in the mixed neighborhood sold at a lower price, and eight instances it sold for a higher price. The average price is shown in Table 2.

Real estate prices in mixed neighborhoods appeared to follow the general market trends. Favorably located homes built in contemporary style appreciated in value while older homes and those not built in harmony with the neighborhood sometimes declined in price. Several instances were found of homes next to a Negro resident which had been sold to a white buyer at a slight increase in price over the previous sale. Given community attitudes, there are undoubtedly white buyers who are biased against property

in mixed neighborhoods. Racial composition, however, is only one of several factors and there is an appreciable group of whites who are willing to make a purchase in a mixed neighborhood when other factors are favorable.

Rate of sale. The fear is often expressed that it may be more difficult to sell houses in a mixed area even though prices do not actually drop. In order to test this idea, sales records were checked for reports of houses put on the market but not sold. In the mixed area over the five year period between 1953 and 1958, 48 of the 68 houses offered were sold, or 71 per cent. In the comparable all-white area 77 out of the 134 houses offered were sold, or 57.5 per cent.

Assessment. Since assessed valuation was one of the indications of similarity of neighborhoods, the question was raised as to whether the assessor might have discounted the effect of mixed racial occupancy in making an evaluation. This tendency is denied by the assessor's office, but such a belief is widely held in the community. To check this possibility the Bureau of Municipal Research selected three neighborhoods that had been all white in 1948 but had been entered by Negroes between 1948 and 1958. These were compared with three similar neighborhoods that had remained all white. In each neighborhood classification the percentage of increase in the assessed valuation in the mixed district was greater than in the comparable all-white district.

TABLE 2
REAL ESTATE PRICES

| All Recorded Sales 1953-1958 | Mixed Housing Area | | All-white Control Area | |
|--|-----------------------|--------|---------------------------|--------|
| | No. | Price | No. | Price |
| City | 23 | 9,199 | 65 | 9,401 |
| Suburban | 25 | 14,782 | 12 | 8,792 |
| City-suburban combined | 48 | 11,799 | 77 | 14,782 |
| Houses with identical assessed valuation | 13 | 9,731 | 13 | 9,358 |

Validity of stereotypes. The community beliefs about the relationship between race and housing were not sustained in this study. Negro residents showed little tendency to cluster together or convert houses to multiple dwellings. They conformed to neighborhood standards of property upkeep and personal behavior. Real estate prices did not seem to be affected by purely racial factors.

FACTORS RELEVANT TO PATTERNS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

Factors affecting the interaction of Negroes and whites include population ratios, social class differences and previous patterns of neighboring as well as specific norms governing interpersonal relations between racial groups. The demographic factor in Kalamazoo would be expected to encourage contacts since the relatively isolated Negro families were in geographical propinquity to white residents. The norms for interracial contacts included the ideal of brotherhood along with a realization that the liberal norms of racial equality seldom actually led to a high rate of social interaction.

Status. Our knowledge of the general pattern of invasion and succession in urban neighborhoods indicates that the group leaving the crowded area near the central business district is a group which has become assimilated to local folkways and has begun to rise in economic position. Kalamazoo Negroes moving into white areas were definitely of this type. Negroes in the mixed housing areas had more education than either the whites in these areas or the general Negro population in Kalamazoo.* Thirty-seven per cent of the Negro adults in the mixed area had taken work beyond high school, as compared to 25 per

cent of the whites in the mixed housing area and 17 per cent of the Negroes in the city as a whole. In occupational distribution, 20 per cent of the Negroes were professionals as compared to ten per cent of the whites. There were no Negro business executives and a slightly larger proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled laborers than was true of whites. Negroes in the sample area had a smaller proportion in the semi-skilled and unskilled groups and a higher proportion of professionals than was true of Negroes in the total Kalamazoo area.

The income of both Negro and white families was supplemented by working wives. Twenty (43 per cent) of the Negro families in the sample and 47 (35 per cent) of the white families had an additional wage earner.

Pigmentation. Since the greater visibility of Negroes facilitates their identification as an out group, it is often assumed that the light colored Negro has greater acceptance by whites and consequently a superior opportunity for socio-economic advancement. The interviewers classified the Negro respondents as "light," "medium," and "dark." Twenty of 46 Negroes were classified as "light," nine as "dark," and 17 as "medium." This might seem to indicate a high proportion of light colored Negroes, and it included three Negroes who were difficult to classify racially on the basis of physical traits. However, we have no information about the relative prevalence of various degrees of pigmentation either in Kalamazoo or elsewhere. No differences were noticeable in education, social status, or acceptance by their white neighbors. The average price of the house occupied by the light-skinned Negroes was \$9,770 as compared to \$12,400 by the medium and dark-skinned. Three cases of intermarriage between a Negro man and a white woman were included in the sample. In one case the man was dark,

*Statements about occupation and education for all Kalamazoo Negroes are taken from (6).

in another medium and in another very light. The highest income was earned by a Negro of medium color and the next highest by a man in the dark category. If degree of pigmentation had any influence on either social mobility or white acceptance this influence was apparently outweighed by other factors.

Extent of Neighboring. A variety of questions on neighboring practices were included in the survey to measure the effect of propinquity on inter-personal relationships.* The major inference which emerged from these questions was that in an impersonal, urban situation, adult friendships are usually not established on the basis of residential proximity.

More than half of the housewives questioned said they had not visited any of their neighbors in the last month. Nearly 60 per cent said that their husbands spent little or no time with neighborhood friends. When asked whether most of their friends were found in the same area in which they lived or in other parts of the city, only one-fourth of the group said that most of their friends were found in the area in which they lived.**

A specific neighboring scale was designed to measure the interaction be-

*Based on questions used in (14) and (11).

**This lack of neighboring is borne out by a study of voting behavior in a suburban area of Kalamazoo, which found that "nearly half of the residents did not consider any of their neighbors as good or very close friends" (5).

tween next-door neighbors, including Negro as well as white neighbors. While the specific opinions about mixed racial housing indicated only a slight tendency of acceptance, it would appear that people who have a high degree of sociability in general tend to interact with those around them regardless of race. In this connection it should be noted that white neighbors indicated a higher degree of interaction with Negro neighbors than they had with other white neighbors.

The following table measures the interaction of the respondents with their next-door neighbor. The score indicating the greatest possible amount of "neighboring" was 76, and the score indicating the least possible amount of "neighboring" was 18. The score is based on such activities as visiting, calling in homes, borrowing or lending tools and household supplies, talking informally, etc.

Neither specific items nor the overall scale revealed neighboring to the extent indicating close friendships. One would assume that a desire to appear liberal led whites to overstate their interaction with Negro neighbors since it is higher than the Negro neighbor's statement of the same phenomenon. A consideration of some specific items will clarify the picture.

Children. It is usually assumed that children play together regardless of social barriers and one would expect acquaintance to cut across racial lines. Twelve of the Negroes and 24 of the white neighbors had children of com-

TABLE 3
NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBORING SCORE*

| | No. | Score |
|--------------------------------|-----|-------|
| Total sample | 178 | 50.36 |
| A Whites with White Neighbors | 70 | 47.9 |
| B Negroes with White Neighbors | 45 | 46.9 |
| C Whites with Negro Neighbors | 63 | 53.6 |

*Using the "t" test, differences between A and C, B and C significant at .05 level.

parable ages. All of these Negro families and 16 of the white families reported that their children played freely with neighbor children of the other race. Eight of the whites stated that their children played either very little or not at all with Negro children. These were white families which had expressed misgivings about the idea of mixed housing and apparently sought to discourage interracial contacts. From these figures one would infer that Negro children in mixed neighborhoods usually found white playmates even though some of the white parents might seek to discourage this pattern of behavior.

Home visiting. Visits to the home of a member of the other race were reported by 32 (70 per cent) of the Negroes and by 33 (25 per cent) of the whites. This difference may be the result of the population proportions since the Negroes in these neighborhoods were far outnumbered and a minority of whites could provide all the home visiting that would normally be expected. However, the fact that 14 (30 per cent) of the Negroes reported no home visits would seem to indicate some hesitancy on the part of both races in becoming involved in this type of social relationship.

People with higher education had a greater tendency to participate in neighboring interaction both within the race and across racial lines.* Visits to the homes of Negro neighbors had been made by 38 per cent of the college educated white housewives but by only 17 per cent of the white housewives with a grade school education. Similarly, 71 per cent of the college educated white housewives had visited their next door white neighbor as compared to only 25 per cent of the white housewives with a grade school education.

*Tendency toward less neighboring in lower class groups is observed in other studies (10, 7, 4).

Neither home visiting or any other form of neighboring had any pronounced relationship to mixed housing attitudes, and the highest quartile of whites in general neighboring activity showed the usual 50 per cent stand for non-committal viewpoints on the merits of a mixed housing neighborhood.

Precedent. The whites who moved into the neighborhood after the Negro entry showed twice the proportion of acceptance of mixed housing as those who were living there at the time of Negro entry, a difference significant at the .10 level. Eighty per cent of the whites who moved in after Negro entry said the presence of Negroes in the neighborhood had not affected their decision to move into the neighborhood. The remaining 20 per cent said the presence of Negroes had disturbed them but that other factors had outweighed their fears on this score. Forty-seven per cent of the new arrivals expressed an attitude of indifference toward mixed housing which shows the effect of general community norms but the drift among the new arrivals was definitely toward the acceptance of what, for them, was the status quo.

Contact. The study tends to substantiate the thesis that an increase in interracial contacts is accompanied by a greater willingness to accept integrated situations. The quartile with the greatest number of interracial contacts included a larger number in favor of integrated housing while the quartile with the lowest proportion of interracial contacts included a greater number of individuals who expressed hostility toward integrated housing, a difference significant at the .01 level. Community norms may be considered the principal factor, however, since even in the group having the greatest amount of interracial contact, 42 per cent took the prevalent community attitude of neutrality.

Proximity. This study may be said to be comparable to the Deutsch and Collins investigation (1) of the effects of proximity on attitudes in public housing which compared a fully integrated housing project with a project which included both races but with Negroes and whites housed in separate buildings. It was found that the project in which Negroes and whites lived in the same building had a far better acceptance of integrated housing by the white residents. The present study includes whites living next door to a Negro family along with whites who lived within a two block area of the Negro family but were not next door neighbors. It will be seen from Table 4 that there was no significant difference between the two groups in their reaction to mixed housing.

The effect of proximity depends upon the individual's interpretation of the meaning of this proximity as well as the degree of physical nearness involved. Next door neighbors in a single family residential area were not as close together as neighbors in a multiple unit structure, and they may also have had less feeling of identification with the same community than did dwellers in a public housing project.

Organizations. Twenty-six of the 46 Negro families belonged to one or more organizations which were predominantly white. The most frequently mentioned organization was the Human Relations Council, a reform group with about seventy per cent white membership. The remaining organizations included PTA, churches, labor unions, and professional organizations. None of the Negroes had joined churches with a predominantly white congregation located in the neighborhood. Three of the Negroes were members of white churches, but these churches were located at a considerable distance from their home, and they had been members before

moving into a white neighborhood. It appears that contact through white organizations was largely formal in nature and in any event had little direct impact on socialization within the residential neighborhood.

Impact of neighboring. The data on neighboring do not bear out the theories of either those who regard neighboring as an evidence of community integration which will facilitate opposition to the entry of a new element into the area or the opposite theory that a generalized tendency to socialization promotes the acceptance of integrated practices. Routine neighboring activities, not involving deep intimacy, were carried on between racial groups, and the impersonal urban pattern did not predispose people to feel that their neighbors had to be either enemies or close friends. In this type of district normal neighborly relationships apparently are not greatly altered by Negro entry, but the usual neighboring practices are not of the type to produce a close knit community. The ease of making routine contacts removes one possible barrier to housing integration, but the limited intimacy of such contacts limits their effectiveness in altering either specific interpersonal relationships or general racial attitudes.

PATTERNS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRAITS RELATED TO INTEGRATED HOUSING ATTITUDES

As is noted in Table 4, the attitude most often expressed toward mixed housing by the white residents in the mixed area was one of indifference or neutrality. While previous surveys had shown the prevalent community attitude to be one of rejection (3), the expression of neutrality logically follows from the cross pressures to which residents of the mixed housing area were subjected. Less than 10 per cent of them planned to move so that they had to adjust to an altered situation on a long time basis. An expression of

TABLE 4
FACTORS RELATED TO MIXED HOUSING ATTITUDES OF WHITE RESIDENTS

| | Percentage Taking Designated Positions | | | |
|--|--|-------|---------|---------|
| | N | Favor | Neutral | Hostile |
| PROXIMITY | | | | |
| Next door to Negro | 63 | 24 | 44 | 32 |
| Not next door | 70 | 17 | 54 | 29 |
| ENTRY IN AREA | | | | |
| Before Negroes | 95 | 16 | 50 | 34 |
| After Negroes | 38 | 32 | 47 | 21 |
| EDUCATION | | | | |
| Beyond high school | 34 | 14 | 52 | 34 |
| 9th to 12th grade | 69 | 24 | 54 | 22 |
| 8th grade or less | 30 | 17 | 31 | 52 |
| OCCUPATION OF CHIEF WAGE EARNER | | | | |
| Professional, Business Executive | 17 | 19 | 75 | 6 |
| White collar, small business | 27 | 11 | 56 | 33 |
| Labor | 89 | 23 | 47 | 30 |
| POSITION ON INTERRACIAL CONTACTS SCALE | | | | |
| Highest quartile | 33 | 42 | 42 | 16 |
| 2nd and 3rd quartile | 67 | 18 | 54 | 28 |
| Lowest quartile | 33 | 3 | 45 | 52 |
| POSITION ON NEIGHBORING SCALE | | | | |
| Highest quartile | 33 | 30 | 50 | 20 |
| 2nd and 3rd quartile | 67 | 17 | 50 | 33 |
| Lowest quartile | 33 | 18 | 52 | 30 |
| AGE | | | | |
| 40 plus | 82 | 14 | 46 | 40 |
| Under 40 | 51 | 34 | 53 | 13 |
| PRICE OF HOUSE | | | | |
| Under \$8,000 | 73 | 18 | 44 | 38 |
| Over \$8,000 | 61 | 25 | 59 | 16 |
| TOTAL SAMPLE WHITE RESIDENTS | 133 | 20 | 50 | 30 |

acceptance would have been in sharp contrast to the attitudes generally expressed and would require a special sanction available only to those who had been able to accept social attitudes more liberal than those usually held in the community. Hostility, however, might be interpreted as racial bigotry which can involve the individual in a disparagement of his own neighborhood. In a community with a tradition of both verbal tolerance and segregated housing the obvious adjustment to a change in the *status quo* is to minimize its importance and avoid being classed as any type of extremist. Minorities were found on both sides of the issue including some whose dismay at being caught in a situation the community defined as unfortunate led to resentment, and others whose prior conditioning enabled them to inter-

pret mixed housing as a sign of progress.

Sub groups. Half of the sample expressed themselves as being indifferent toward life in a mixed neighborhood and this did not vary greatly in sub-categories except with those of less than a high school education of whom more than half were frankly hostile to mixed housing and only 31 per cent neutral; and the professional and business executive group of whom 75 per cent were neutral and only six per cent hostile, difference significant at the .01 level. The professional and business executive group is highly sensitive to the changing currents of community opinion and it would be expected that the majority of its members would espouse the type of attitude which is socially correct. The

group of less than grade school education is both less sensitive to currents of thought in the community and is under less pressure to express attitudes which are considered socially acceptable in middle class circles. There was little variation in the percentage of the two groups who favored integrated housing, indicating that the professional and business group does not have many members who take a stand in advance of public opinion on a controversial question.

The desirability of mixed housing was a subject on which the individuals in the area who might be assumed to be most sensitive to the currents of community opinion tended to refrain from expressions of either acceptance or open hostility. Insofar as they deviated from a non-committal stand it was more apt to be in the direction of acceptance, while those whose age or social status might make them less sensitive to a changing climate of opinion were more inclined to express hostile sentiments. The general attitude of neutrality or acceptance was most marked in those above eighth grade education who had occupational status above the rank of laborer, who lived in a home costing more than \$8,000, and who were in the age bracket between 20 and 40. These differences, however, are not sharp enough to alter the statement that the prevalent attitude toward a Negro entering a mixed housing area was one of uneasy neutrality with occasional sharp expressions of hostility and slightly less frequent expressions of friendship and welcome.

Acceptance or rejection of mixed housing appeared to be a matter of conformity to general Kalamazoo opinion rather than the result of specific social patterns which might be thought to affect racial prejudice. Although there was a variation in the proportion expressing hostility and acceptance, the mode in all but one of

the sub-groups was a statement of indifference or neutrality.

CONCLUSIONS

I. The self-fulfilling prophecy argument which assumes that events take place because people believe they will take place and govern their actions accordingly can be labelled a sociological argument for wish-fulfillment which only occurs when other aspects of the environment are favorable to the desired outcome. This is illustrated by the data on housing prices which indicate that although the great majority of Kalamazoo residents believed there was a tendency for prices to decline in mixed neighborhoods, there was no proof that such a decline actually took place.*

II. Demographic factors influence the course of housing integration. In a community with relatively small Negro population the middle class Negroes were too small in number to invade white areas en masse. The result was that, rather than a process of invasion and succession, Kalamazoo had a scattering of middle class Negro population throughout a considerable area of the city with most Negro homes surrounded by white residences.

III. Contact and intergroup acceptance are mutually reinforcing. The individuals manifesting the greatest degree of acceptance of mixed housing were those exposed to a considerable number of interracial contacts.

IV. Attitudes tend to adjust to situational demands. This is another version of the topic which Rose discusses in the article, "Intergroup Relations versus Prejudice" (9). Although 50 per cent of the white residents stated they had been opposed to the entry of Negroes into the neighborhood only 30 per cent felt that they objected to a mixed neighborhood

*For another criticism of the self-fulfilling prophecy concept see (15).

after the entry had taken place. The rejection of the initial entry of Negroes is consistent with conformity to community housing norms. The acceptance of the change, once it had occurred, may be interpreted as a desire to rationalize and justify the situation in which they found themselves.

V. Activities which have only marginal acceptance will tend to take place outside the normal institutional structure. Since the attitude of the majority of the community on housing integration varies from a grudging tolerance to an intense opposition, it is natural to expect that Negroes would have difficulty in using the normal means of property transfer in gaining entry into new neighborhoods. This is indicated by the relatively minor role which real estate agents played in facilitating such transfer. The implication for intergroup practice is that it may at times be more expedient to create new channels of action rather than to make an all-out assault on the practices of power groups in existing structures.

VI. Propinquity may lead to increased contacts between racial groups but only leads to acceptance when the individuals involved feel a sense of unity in a common situation. Next door neighboring of whites and Negroes in a single family house district did not influence individuals in favor of integration in the manner reported under similar circumstances in multiple dwelling public housing units.

VII. The adjustment to general community norms under the limitation of specific existent situations is the strongest influence determining the attitude toward integrated housing. Sociological variables have a minor influence except as they operate to sensitize or insulate the individual to currents of opinion in the community. The influence of this general attitude is indicated by the fact that,

with two exceptions, both covered by the foregoing category, sub-groups in the sample showed a consistent measure of around fifty per cent of their members with a non-committal attitude toward mixed housing.

VIII. Neighborhoods in an impersonal urban environment lead to interpersonal interaction which stops short of intimate friendship. The rate of neighboring does not vary greatly according to whether it took place within or across racial lines. While neighborhood propinquity will probably not lead to deep friendship, the acceptance of racial integration does not necessarily imply the acceptance of a close personal relationship with neighbors of the other race.

IX. Attitudes toward racial integration are the result of generalized factors rather than of specific reactions on an individual basis. This point is illustrated by the fact that the degree of conformity to middle class norms did not affect the acceptance of Negro residents by white neighbors.

X. Situational rather than specific factors determine the course of events in the development of integrated housing. The rather modest development of integrated housing which occurred in the Kalamazoo community took place because the structure of social relationships created a situation in which such deviant behavior was permissible. The existence of unfavorable attitudes on the part of the majority of the citizens was partially offset by the work of a few individuals friendly to integration and by a city government committed to a firm maintenance of law and order. Under these circumstances a few middle class Negroes were able to bypass the usual channels used in housing transactions and to establish themselves in new areas. Their white neighbors found themselves confronted with a *fait accompli* in which resistance was weak-

ened by a confusion of norms in the general community. The expected invasion of mass Negro purchasers did not occur because of the low number of middle class Negroes. It was this combination of circumstances which had enabled the development of a degree of private housing integration with a minimum of social conflict.

Integrated housing is a natural development in a community with a growing Negro population in which the social structure affords ineffective barriers to such behavior even though the majority of citizens may regard it as a deviation from the norm. It is not necessary for public opinion to support a capture of the power structure by integrationists as long as inertia, moral confusion, institutional loopholes and a concern for legality operate to allow integration to proceed.

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SOCIAL CLASS AND THE MENTAL HEALTH MOVEMENT

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This paper is an analysis of the content of the mental health "message" found in mental health pamphlets, and the relationship of this content to the class characteristics of the audience reached. The nature of this relationship provides the foundation for a discussion of some broad consequences of mental health educational efforts designed to reach the general public.

During the last several decades, writing on the subject of mental health (which now comprises an imposing bibliography) has been criticized on several scores. Recent critiques (4; 7; 8; 14) have stressed the complexities involved in an accurate delineation of mental health, as well as the variety of conflicting opinions among authorities regarding its nature. In contrast, an earlier line of critical inquiry initiated by Kingsley Davis (5), although it has been widely cited and reproduced in the literature, has received little additional attention by authors in the field. Davis indicated there was an affinity between the protestant ethic and the concept of mental health as found in books and other works dealing with mental hygiene. He was concerned principally with documenting the middle class background of authorities writing on the subject of mental health, and in indicating that their middle class cultural orientation influenced their conception of mental health. In contrast, the present investigation is focused on mass media publications and treats the class orientation of the mental health

message primarily as an independent rather than a dependent variable.

PROCEDURE

The research consisted of a content analysis of mental health pamphlets in order to disclose dominant themes. The 27 pamphlets analyzed were obtained from a local mental health clinic, the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene and the National Association for Mental Health.

The basic criteria used in the selection of pamphlets were: they must have been concerned primarily with a description of the nature of mental health rather than mental illness; and they must have been addressed to the general public rather than to special groups (e.g., clergymen, nurses, teachers, etc.). Following the selection of pamphlets, the content was reviewed again and all text which did not fulfill the basic criteria was eliminated from consideration (even within pamphlets predominantly concerned with mental health, there was some discussion of the extent of mental illness, its causes and cures). This comprised about 30 per cent of the text.

In the material to follow, then, we shall be referring only to the remaining text, i.e., the content dealing specifically with the nature of mental health, in pamphlets primarily concerned with this subject. This text will be considered as a whole, and the presentation of findings is in terms of this totality.

Although the authors operated on the hypothesis that there would be a considerable amount of mental health text having a middle class orientation, there was no attempt made to select this material to the exclusion of possibly contradictory materials. An initial survey of the text indicated that our hypothesis seemed to be confirmed. To insure against bias, however, a check sheet was prepared and the frequency of specific content (i.e., words and phrases) was recorded using provisional categories. As far as the authors could determine, all repetitive content was included on the check sheet. The process of analyzing the pamphlets to ascertain repetitive material was repeated to insure the reliability of the authors' judgements. These judgements were found to be essentially the same in the second as they were in the first analysis.

Using this analysis as a basis, the themes in the literature were determined. A general criterion utilized was that words and phrases of the same basic content had to be repeated in at least one third of the pamphlets in order to be considered a "theme". These "themes", with examples, are presented in the "findings" section.

After the "themes" were ascertained, a determination was made as to whether they involved middle class values and orientations. This determination was based upon generalizations drawn from the sociological literature pertaining to differences between middle and lower class values and orientations. Most of these generalizations derive from an unpublished paper by Gross and Gursslin (9).

FINDINGS

Approximately 60 per cent of the text referred to above, (i.e., material expressly concerned with a description of mental health and its attainment) contained statements, either explicit or

implied, which could be identified as falling within the middle class cultural mold. In addition, most of this content was accompanied by pictures portraying such scenes as middle class households and executives at work. Another 30 per cent of this material consisted of platitudes and an assortment of positively value-laden words. These directives concerning the finding and keeping of mental health were vague and/or ambiguous. Some illustrations of this kind of material are:

- (1) "(Mentally healthy people) accept their responsibilities". (III p. 3) *
- (2) "Being mentally healthy means feeling right about other people." (IV p. 11)
- (3) "Such things as a happy childhood spent in a serene household with loving guidance from parents who are themselves well-balanced contribute to mental health." (X p. 28).

Several pamphlets, comprising roughly ten per cent of the content, were relatively free of the middle class "themes". One pamphlet in particular, entitled *How to Deal with Your Tensions*,** warrants special consideration, since many of the suggestions put forth in it concerning mental health and its attainment, attempt to modify some of the more tension-creating features of the middle class ethic. For instance, the reader of this pamphlet is advised to — "Escape for a while" — Sometimes, when things go wrong, it helps to escape from the painful problem for a while: — Making yourself 'stand there and suffer' is a form of self punishment, not a way to solve a problem."

*See pamphlet bibliography.

**Stevenson, George S., *How to Deal with Your Tensions*, (New York: National Association for Mental Health, 1958).

Although some of this content could be seen as reflecting a lower class orientation in that it de-emphasizes "striving" and setting one's goals too high, it is set within a different context, namely, a middle class, rational, manipulative orientation toward the world. One "escapes for a while" in order that one may ultimately solve problems more effectively.

Dominant themes found in the literature examined, are presented below in the form of summary statements. These will be followed by quotations from the pamphlets which

provide concrete examples of the material upon which they were based. The summaries and supporting material found in the left-hand column are opposite a statement of middle class versus lower class values found in the right hand column.

The purpose of this presentation is to indicate certain basic parallels between the mental health content and the middle class orientation, on the one hand, and a disjunction between this content and the lower-class orientation on the other.

MENTAL HEALTH PROTOTYPE

Adjustment and Conformity

The mentally healthy person is able to get along with others. He adjusts himself to the group and the prevailing norms.

Supporting examples:

(A) "If you're mentally healthy you can get along with other people" (I).

(B) "Success comes with the ability to work with . . . associates, not against them" (II, p. 1).

(C) "He [the mentally healthy child] learns the rules of group living. Rejection of the group is not only a symptom of poor adjustment but it may have serious consequences in its effect on the individual child. Many a bitter person could have been spared much unhappiness if he had learned early in life how to make himself acceptable to others" (XII, p. 4).

The mentally healthy person acts to solve problems as they arise. He faces up to his problems and then does something about them.

(A) "They [mentally healthy people] do something about their problems as they arise" (III, p. 3).

(B) "Ed [a poor example of mental health] ought to be honest with him-

MIDDLE-CLASS VS. LOWER-CLASS PROTOTYPE

Adjustment and conformity have become the central watchwords of the "new middle class" man, who is typically a cog in the wheels of a large organization. He is not only an "organization man" but also an "other directed man." He seeks his source of direction in those about him and in mass media. His values shift as this guidance shifts. His only stable characteristics are striving and paying close attention to the signals about him.

Lower-class people have not learned these "skills." Although they are responsive to informal group pressures, they are more apt to express themselves spontaneously. In addition, since their chances for upward nobility are slight, they have less to lose from non-conformity (13; 16; 18; 20; 24).*

*The supportive bibliography herein presented is by no means exhaustive of the breadth of material relating to class cultural differences. It is designed primarily to suggest some sources which touch upon the class characteristics referred to in the designated categories.

Problem-Solving

Middle-class persons make a greater effort to control events in their lives and solve problems as they emerge. They make a conscious attempt to obtain knowledge which will be helpful in the control of their social and material environment.

Lower-class persons are more apt to blame "fate" or "bad luck" for their

self, try to face up to his own frustrations and do something about them" (IV p. 3).

(c) "Find out what you can do about your troubles and then do it!" (V p. 6).

The Value of Work

The mentally healthy person enjoys work. He gets satisfaction out of doing a job and this contributes to his on-going state of mental health.

(A) "Those who have a zest for working . . . may be said to be mentally healthy" (IX p. 3).

(b) "He [the mentally healthy person] gets satisfaction out of doing a job" (VI p. 16).

(c) "Satisfactions gained from work help to keep people healthy" (X p. 4).

misfortunes and to react with apathy and indifference to their problems. They seldom make an effort to obtain knowledge which would be helpful in such control. Lower-class socioeconomic conditions result in lack of information and education and a general lack of environmental control. This, in turn, results in an adaptation to submission and failure as an unjust life outlook (13; 16).

Middle-class persons place a great emphasis on the importance of a vocation. This along with other "virtues," such as thrift, respectability, and the accumulation of wealth, comprise the core values of the middle class.

Work is viewed by lower-class persons as something which is necessary in order to obtain money to buy the essentials of life (13; 16; 23).

Control of Emotions

The mentally healthy person controls his emotions and/or directs them into "harmless" outlets.

(A) "Don't let your emotions run you — you be the boss" (V p. 10).

(b) "We all have emotions but don't let them bowl you over" (VI p. 10).

(c) "Find a harmless outlet for your feelings — mow the lawn — scrub the floor — don't take it out on the boss or your wife" (V p. 8).

Middle-class people emphasize the importance of controlling one's emotions, whereas lower-class people give more direct expression to their emotions, particularly aggressive feelings. Middle-class children are taught to control their aggressive tendencies except when flagrantly provoked. Lower-class children are taught aggressive techniques and aggressive abilities are highly valued in lower-class society (11; 15; 21; 22).

Planning Ahead

The mentally healthy person plans ahead without fear of the future.

(A) "He [the mentally healthy person] plans for tomorrow without being afraid of what's coming" (VII p. 6).

(b) "Plan for tomorrow but don't worry about it" (V p. 1).

(c) "They [mentally healthy people] plan ahead but do not fear the future" (III p. 3).

Middle-class people are future-oriented. They think in terms of long-range goals and make rational plans for the attainment of such goals. Since they have greater economic security, they have less fear of the future. Lower-class people are present-oriented. They think in terms of immediate gratification. They see no value in planning for long-term goals, since the probability of their being attained is so slight (12; 13; 15).

Striving

The mentally healthy person establishes goals for himself that are within the limits of his capacity to reach and then he strives to his utmost to achieve these goals.

(A) "[Mentally healthy people] . . . make use of their natural capacities — they set realistic goals for them-

Middle-class persons emphasize the importance of striving, particularly in the business and professional spheres. They aspire to higher status occupations and higher income levels than do lower-class persons. They set goals they think they can reach and are more optimistic about achieving the goals

selves — they put their best effort into what they do and get satisfaction out of doing it" (III p. 3).

(B) "[The mentally healthy person] . . . does whatever he tackles to the best of his ability. If the result is not perfect, he doesn't fret about it, just tries to do better the next time" (VII p. 6).

(C) ". . . all tension is not bad. . . . The tension that comes from doing what you have to do with all your might, from striving for the best that is within you is the tension that makes you glad you are alive" (II p. 3).

Community Participation

An example of less recurrent material:

(A) "Your community needs you. In such [community] activities people can make their own lives more meaningful. Most important — it provides emotional satisfaction" (VIII p. 3).

they set for themselves. They believe that ability will be rewarded with success.

Lower-class persons have very limited aspirations. They are more concerned with the satisfaction of immediate needs, and they feel that the likelihood of achieving long-range goals is remote. They tend, therefore, to devalue the culturally defined success goals as well as the activities leading to the attainment of those goals (2; 3; 13; 26).

Middle-class people participate in many more community organizations and activities than do lower-class people, who participate, instead, in informal group associations. Lower-class people are less interested in "community betterment" activities and more interested in the immediate gratification of informal group participation (1; 12; 17; 24).

DISCUSSION

The basic conclusion to be drawn from a sizable portion of the content under investigation is that the middle-class prototype and the mentally healthy prototype are in many respects equivalent. This conclusion involves a number of implications of which only a few will be touched upon in this paper.

Like Davis (5), we must also conclude that the mental health movement is unwittingly propagating a middle-class ethic under the guise of science. If anything, this conclusion has even greater import today than it had 20 years ago. There are two major reasons why this is true: (1) Educational efforts channeled through mass media have been greatly expanded over the past few years. For instance, in its first Annual Report (1950-1951) the National Association for Mental Health records that four million pamphlets were distributed during that year. By 1955, the number

had increased to 12½ million. Although specific information regarding pamphlet distribution has not been published by the National Association for Mental Health since 1955, the organization does report that in 1957 nearly \$425,000 was expended on education. This was the largest budget item for that year and was roughly double the 1956 figure (2). Since the 1930's it would appear that there has been increasing credence by the general public in psychiatric and mental health counsel. The foregoing is especially pertinent as far as influence on middle-class persons is concerned since this group is more apt to be the pamphlet receiving and reading group as well as the segment of the population most eager to grasp at the "latest" on how to raise one's children, live life to the utmost and yet have "peace of mind." The fact that the recipients as well as the disseminators of the mental health "message" are almost entirely middle class has been dealt with by the authors in another article (10).

A FUNCTIONAL INTERPRETATION

From a functional point of view, we should like to consider the following proposition: the mental health movement contributes to the maintenance and persistence of the middle-class sociocultural structure by providing authoritative, "scientific" support to middle-class values and orientation. (We are speaking here, of course, of latent functions, since it is assumed that the consequences are neither intended nor recognized by proponents of the mental health movement.)

This proposition takes on particular significance when viewed from a historical perspective. The moral, religious, and economic underpinnings of "traditional" middle-class society have altered appreciably during the past 50 years. It is of particular significance that with the decline of these old supportive institutions there has emerged a new movement giving "pseudo-scientific" authoritative support to the "new middle class" way of life. In many respects the mental health movement represents the functional equivalent of religion in the traditional middle-class structure.*

When the foregoing remarks are viewed from the standpoint of the formal goals of the mental health movement, a significant paradox is evident. If, as many sociologists and culturally oriented psychiatrists maintain, one of the primary roots of mental disorder lies in socially structured strains, then it may very well be that the mental health movement is helping to support a social system that is producing a high incidence of mental

illness. In short, the mental health movement, whose purpose it is to contribute to personal organization and not necessarily social organization, may actually be contributing to the maintenance of middle-class social organization but not necessarily personal organization. These remarks are, of course, only suggestive. It is recognized that the relationship between personal and social organization is a complex one. It is also possible that a social movement which contributes to a modicum of social organization in an era of rapid social change may be in the long run doing more for "mental health" than a movement which sets up a disparate set of standards even though they be humanistically geared to a "fuller" attainment of man's "basic needs."

The foregoing remarks apply primarily to middle-class society. What, then, are some of the possible ramifications for lower-class society? Considering the differences in values and orientation, it is clear that the prototype of the lower-class individual is markedly different from the prototype of the "mentally healthy" individual. To the extent that the mental health movement is successful in advancing this mental health prototype as a desirable model to emulate, it may have a considerable personally disorganizing effect upon those lower-class persons who accept the mental health prototype. For example, the "message" sets forth a way of life which is most unrealistic for lower-class people, who must make some adjustment to the conditions and culture of the lower class. Lower-class people who take on forms of behavior implied in the mental health model are apt to find themselves alienated from lower-class society as well as subjected to other stresses of upwardly mobile types.

Again we are confronted with the paradox that the mental health educational effort may actually operate to

*For a more general statement of this point of view from a longer historical perspective and a comparison of the mental health movement with the early Christian church see John R. Seely, "Social Values, The Mental Hygiene Movement and Mental Health," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 286 (March, 1953), 15-25.

produce that which it is manifestly intended to combat.

The corollary to the proposition that the mental health movement is functional for the middle-class sociocultural structure is that it is dysfunctional for the lower-class sociocultural structure since it promulgates an ethic which is contrary to some of the central values and orientation of lower-class society. The degree to which the mental health movement may have dysfunctional consequences for the lower-class structure at the present time is probably quite limited, since the movement's current mass media educational efforts probably have little appeal to lower-class persons (10). To the extent, however, that more subtle and effective methods of social control are built around the mental health movement in the future, we may expect some pronounced dysfunctional consequences for the lower-class social structure.

THE EXTENT OF COVERAGE

Much of the foregoing may appear to be an overstatement of the effect of these "educational" efforts on the audience they reach. An examination of the popular literature of the day, however, — for example, middle-class, "ladies magazines" — should make it apparent that the influence of mental health education extends far beyond the distribution of pamphlets. For instance, an examination by the authors of five such magazines for only the latter half of 1958 disclosed nine feature articles dealing with mental health in terms generally similar to the pamphlet material. In short, the total effect, particularly on middle-class society, is much more pervasive than may superficially appear to be the case.

The extent to which the mental health "message" is affecting various segments of the population requires more systematic research. Likewise,

there is a need for a more comprehensive study of the content of the "message." It is hoped that the present limited study will serve to stimulate further research.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MENTAL HEALTH MOVEMENT

Mass media communication has been increasingly utilized by the mental health movement as a primary means for coming to grips with the problem of mental illness. Through its program of public education, the National Association for Mental Health, for example, has played a significant role in the public's growing awareness of the widespread incidence of mental illness. This organization has also been instrumental in breaking down some of the barriers and superstitions regarding the mentally ill. Here, the National Association for Mental Health seems on somewhat firmer ground, although, as some recent experiences have shown, the complexities involved demand a much more sophisticated base and plan of operation (4).

The situation concerning public enlightenment in the broader area of the nature of mental health and its attainment is far less encouraging. Much more research and theoretical development are required before the public can be approached with any degree of confidence that what is being offered as the substance of mental health has reasonable validity. In particular, the implication of the educational material offered for diverse subsystems and personality structures must be clearly thought out. If they are not, the mental health educator is likely to discover belatedly that his purposive action has produced unanticipated consequences antithetical to his good intent. In brief, it would seem that a critical appraisal of these aspects of mental health education is required.

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SOME CORRELATES OF REPORTED HEALTH IN METROPOLITAN CENTERS*

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INTRODUCTION

Public concern with health as a leading social problem is manifested in the very existence of the current national health survey (16). In addition, a number of surveys of States and local areas have been conducted; reports on many of these investigations may be found in (2), while other recent contributions are cited below. The research reported here is intended to add to this body of sample survey data, which has already provided a wealth of valuable information.

THE DATA:

SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

This study differs from most of the published results of health research in that it is a "secondary analysis;" the materials used here are by-product data from a survey that was concerned

with knowledge and opinions about civil defense matters. The survey was conducted for the Federal Civil Defense Administration by the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, in 1952. The results reported here are derived from 974 interviews completed in eleven large cities. An area-probability sample was utilized, with the choice of blocks within each city, and dwelling units within each block, made through a process of random selection. Random procedures also were used to select the adult to be interviewed within each of the sample dwellings. Blocks were chosen in clusters, however, so that the overall design was "complex" in character, and not a simple random sample.**

*We are indebted to both the Federal Civil Defense Administration and the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, for making these materials available to us. Although the junior author was formerly associated with the F. C. D. A., it must be understood that permission to utilize these materials does not imply approval of the findings and the interpretations by either organization.

**See (14) for further technical details concerning the sample design. The cities were: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and San Francisco. New York and Chicago were sampled at half the established rate for reasons of economy, and interviews from these two metropolitan centers were then assigned double weight; the 974 interviews thus yielded a weighted sample total of 1304 cases. All of the results reported here include these weights.

The resulting materials have all the usual limitations of data gathered via sample surveys, such as those arising from sampling variability and errors of response and interviewing, but there are special problems involved in the use of the materials forming the basis of this report. In addition to a number of questions dealing with civil defense matters, respondents were asked to indicate their own general health, as either "excellent," "good," "fair," or "poor." Clearly, the individual concerned is the only one who can report his own subjective feelings, but particular care must be taken to avoid confusing (a) self-reports of subjective feelings regarding health with (b) objective health conditions, however the latter may be determined. Recent research casts serious doubts on the ability of respondents to diagnose their own specific ills with any degree of reliability, even with the aid of a detailed check-list of conditions (7; 15). However, the study reported here is not based on a series of self-diagnoses of specific illnesses, but upon simple indications of *general* health. Whether a respondent's ills are "real," and whether he is ignorant of a serious condition, are obviously important matters, but they are questions that are not at issue here. Suchman, Phillips and Streib have observed that "there can be little question . . . that self-ratings of health are based on many other factors besides actual physical health. It is not so much that self-ratings are 'wrong,' but that they represent 'perceived' health rather than objective health, and as such may even have greater validity for certain purposes than a medical examination" (13, p. 226).

Following this line of reasoning, it may be argued that one's general sense of well-being may have rather profound consequences for his behavior, particularly from the medical or public health standpoint. If an individual

feels that his health is poor or only fair, he is more likely to seek help, even if his ills can be shown to be imaginary; by the same token, if he feels that his health is good or even excellent, he will probably not seek help, even if he has a very serious condition. Thus the variations in reported health in an urban population, when taken together with findings from similar studies of other populations, may provide some valuable clues to medical and health administrators, as well as to others with a more academic interest in these matters. The results of this study also point to areas in which further research is needed.

WORKING HYPOTHESES

In addition to self-reports concerning their own health, eight biological, social and economic characteristics of respondents were investigated. They included age, sex, color, nativity, marital status, the length of time the respondent had lived in his present household, his educational attainment, and family income. These characteristics were judged to have some potential bearing upon either actual health or feelings about health.

In part, of course, the nature of the data determined which variables could be investigated. This is one of the basic difficulties confronting secondary analysis; the investigator who works with materials already gathered for another purpose has no control over the inclusion of items relevant to his particular interest. Within these obvious limits, however, these variables were selected for study on the basis of certain definite criteria. Characteristics were included:

- (a) if previous survey research indicated *differentials in reported health* between subgroups. The intention here was replication, i.e., to add confirming or refuting evidence to the body of information already available;

- (b) if prior research indicated *objective differences in health conditions* between subgroups. Most of these prior studies were based on clinical data;
- (c) if known *mortality differentials* existed. Obvious examples are such well-known differentials as those according to age, sex, color, and marital status. There is also some less well-established evidence of differentials according to such broad measures of socio-economic status as education and income;
- (d) if it was known or suspected that there were *differences in the usage of medical and health facilities*. Of special relevance is the matter of socio-economic status, as well as color and nativity. Differences between males and females have also been discussed in this context (1);
- (e) if the sociological and social-psychological literature indicated any compelling reasons for expecting *differences in outlook* between various subgroups. For example, many discussions of "urban anomic" indicate that newly-arrived migrants, widows, and other individuals living alone in the large city often lack intimate group ties, and it might be expected that their isolated situations would have implications for their sense of well-being.

Detailed documentation of the sources of each hypothesis is prevented by space limitations, but most of the expected relationships (e.g., those derived from known mortality differentials) have such a familiar basis that they require little discussion.

In any event, the foregoing criteria were used in constructing a series of

working hypotheses. In summary, we expected that (I) *better* health would be reported by younger persons, males, whites, natives, married persons, individuals living in long-established households (as measured by length of residence in the present dwelling), and persons of higher socio-economic status; (II) *poorer* health would be reported by older persons, females, nonwhites, the foreign-born, widowed and divorced persons, individuals who had lived in their present dwellings a shorter length of time, and persons of lower socio-economic status.

FINDINGS

First of all, the response in the weighted sample was as follows:

| Reported health | Per cent |
|-----------------|--------------|
| Excellent | 36 |
| Good | 35 |
| Fair | 21 |
| Poor | 8 |
| Not ascertained | 0 (N=2) |
| TOTAL | 100 (N=1304) |

Nearly all respondents were willing and able to answer the question as it was phrased, and seven out of ten reported excellent or good health. Many of these individuals, of course, may be unaware of serious conditions. As we have observed, however, our concern is with characteristics of respondents that might be associated with *self-perceptions* of health, whether or not these perceptions are "realistic."

Summary of initial findings. An examination of the states of health reported by various sectors of the sample shows a series of remarkably clear differentials. Table 1 summarizes the initial results, item by item, and reveals a rather clear pattern of differences in reported health in six out of eight comparisons.* Only two characteristics (sex and color) show no differences worthy of note.

*The tables have been considerably simplified for presentation here. The original tabulations, utilizing three and four response categories (excellent, etc.), are avail-

One factor, however, may explain many of the observed differences, since it is known that age is itself related to nativity, marital status, length of residence, education, and income. (These relationships can be inferred from the "number of cases" section of Table 2, and survey research has established the association between age and these other characteristics.) Another basis for choosing age as a control can be found in Table 1 itself. When the variables are examined one by one, it appears that age is the factor most strongly associated with the dependent variable—reported health. The next phase of the investigation, then, was an examination of the association between each of the remaining variables and reported health within broad age categories. Although age cannot be said to be "held constant" in any experimental sense, the procedure affords a rough control over the age factor.

Further results: Age controlled. The results of controlling age are shown in Table 2 and can be summarized rather briefly. (a) the slight association between sex and reported health remains slight indeed when age is taken into account, and the control of age does little to alter the limited association between color and reported health that

able upon request to the authors. All of the differences stressed in the text are significant at the .001 level when the conventional X^2 tests are applied to the weighted sample. It has been pointed out, of course, that these tests are inappropriate for such complex sample designs as employed in this survey (5). Confidence intervals for this sample are shown in (14), and they were used in interpreting the original tabulations. [For the controversy surrounding the use of statistical tests in sociological surveys, see (12; 10; 6) and further references therein.] Desirable as they might seem for interpretive purposes, no coefficients of association are shown here, because the presently available measures are inappropriate for one reason or another. Measures such as Q are suitable only for 2×2 tables; others such as T are based on X^2 and thus are inapplicable. See (9) for a general discussion of the limitations of the available measures of association.

was apparent in Table 1. (b) The control of age in Table 2 modifies some of the associations indicated in Table 1. The previously noted differences in reported health between *natives and the foreign-born* are considerably reduced; more important, there is an exception to the previously observed pattern to be seen in the youngest age group. (c) The differences between *older and newer residents* are seen to diminish considerably when age differences between them are taken into account.

However, at least a few of the associations previously observed in Table 1 appear to have "survived" the control of age introduced in Table 2. Three variables—*marital status, education, and family income*—are of special interest here.

- (a) In all three age groups, single and married persons reported substantially better health than the widowed, separated and divorced.
- (b) Within the two older age groups, higher educational attainment and higher income still appear to be associated with better reported health.

Why the apparent relationship between reported health and socio-economic status should disappear in the youngest age group (21-34 years) is rather difficult to interpret within the limits of the available evidence for this sample. The small number of low-status persons in this age category prohibits further analysis, even within the limits of the secondary data available to us, but it is relevant to note that young urbanites with extremely low educational attainment and low income appear to make up an extremely heterogeneous category. A larger number of cases would permit more intensive analysis of this age group, especially with respect to factors that presumably bear upon self-ratings of personal health.

TABLE 1
REPORTED HEALTH, BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS:
ELEVEN MAJOR METROPOLITAN CENTERS, 1952

| Characteristic | Per cent reporting health as: | | | Number of cases (equals 100%) |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| | Excellent | Good | Fair or poor | |
| <i>Total</i> | 36 | 35 | 29 | 1302* |
| A. <i>Age</i> | | | | |
| 21-29 years | 56 | 34 | 10 | 211 |
| 30-39 years | 44 | 38 | 18 | 325 |
| 40-49 years | 41 | 35 | 24 | 292 |
| 50-59 years | 24 | 36 | 40 | 214 |
| 60 years and over | 14 | 32 | 54 | 252 |
| B. <i>Sex</i> | | | | |
| Male | 41 | 35 | 24 | 579 |
| Female | 33 | 35 | 32 | 722 |
| C. <i>Color</i> | | | | |
| White | 35 | 36 | 28 | 1145 |
| Nonwhite | 39 | 29 | 32 | 150 |
| D. <i>Nativity</i> | | | | |
| Native | 40 | 36 | 24 | 1011 |
| Foreign-born | 24 | 32 | 44 | 285 |
| E. <i>Marital status</i> | | | | |
| Single | 43 | 37 | 20 | 173 |
| Married | 39 | 36 | 25 | 919 |
| Divorced or separated | 32 | 25 | 43 | 59 |
| Widowed | 15 | 30 | 55 | 148 |
| F. <i>Length of residence</i> | | | | |
| Under 2 years | 48 | 30 | 22 | 301 |
| 2 - 4 years | 44 | 35 | 21 | 190 |
| 4 - 8 years | 33 | 36 | 31 | 227 |
| 8 - 16 years | 32 | 37 | 31 | 342 |
| Over 16 years | 23 | 39 | 38 | 235 |
| F. <i>Education</i> | | | | |
| Completed college | 56 | 35 | 9 | 88 |
| Some college | 52 | 38 | 10 | 111 |
| Completed high school | 47 | 33 | 20 | 312 |
| Some high school | 35 | 40 | 25 | 325 |
| Completed grade school | 23 | 39 | 38 | 220 |
| None or some grade school | 21 | 29 | 50 | 241 |
| H. <i>Family income</i> | | | | |
| Over \$7,500 | 56 | 29 | 15 | 100 |
| \$5,000 - 7,500 | 44 | 34 | 22 | 234 |
| \$4,000 - 4,999 | 36 | 40 | 24 | 243 |
| \$3,000 - 3,999 | 38 | 38 | 24 | 325 |
| \$2,000 - 2,999 | 34 | 37 | 29 | 213 |
| Under \$2,000 | 18 | 23 | 59 | 147 |

* The individual panels omit cases for which the characteristic in question was not ascertained.

Health and socio-economic status. Up to this point, this study appears to have isolated three variables of some importance for the self-perception of health: *age*, *marital status*, and *socio-economic status* (as measured by income and education). Because of the widespread interest in the general re-

lationship between health and socio-economic status, it appeared especially desirable to determine whether the differentials in *reported* health according to educational attainment and current family income persist when other important factors are controlled. Faced with a limited number of cases, we

TABLE 2
PER CENT REPORTING "FAIR" OR "POOR" HEALTH,
BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, WITHIN AGE GROUPS:
ELEVEN MAJOR METROPOLITAN CENTERS, 1952

| Characteristic | Per cent reporting fair or poor health in each age group | | | Number of cases (equal to 100%) in each age group | | |
|-------------------------------|--|----------------|--------------|---|----------------|--------------|
| | 21-34 years | 34-49 years | 50+ years | 21-34 years | 35-49 years | 50+ years |
| A. <i>Total</i> | 13 | 23 | 47 | 405 | 423 | 466* |
| B. <i>Sex</i> | | | | | | |
| Male | 11 | 17 | 43 | 171 | 199 | 204 |
| Female | 15 | 28 | 51 | 233 | 224 | 262 |
| C. <i>Color</i> | | | | | | |
| White | 12 | 21 | 48 | 348 | 371 | 419 |
| Nonwhite | 19 | 34 | 44 | 56 | 50 | 43 |
| D. <i>Nativity</i> | | | | | | |
| Native | 14 | 21 | 43 | 367 | 356 | 280 |
| Foreign-born | 8 | 33 | 54 | 36 | 63 | 186 |
| E. <i>Marital status</i> | | | | | | |
| Single | 5 | 24 | 34 | 74 | 34 | 64 |
| Married | 13 | 20 | 44 | 307 | 335 | 272 |
| Other | 36 | 37 | 60 | 22 | 54 | 129 |
| F. <i>Length of residence</i> | | | | | | |
| Under 4 years | 14 | 20 | 43 | 262 | 131 | 97 |
| 4 - 12 years | 13 | 22 | 49 | 96 | 189 | 160 |
| Over 12 years | 4 | 29 | 49 | 46 | 102 | 204 |
| G. <i>Education</i> | | | | | | |
| College | 3 | 12 | 18 | 95 | 49 | 55 |
| High school | 17 | 17 | 43 | 254 | 234 | 143 |
| Grade school | 13 | 36 | 55 | 54 | 140 | 265 |
| H. <i>Family income</i> | | | | | | |
| Over \$5,000 | 10 | 16 | 36 | 105 | 127 | 100 |
| \$3,000 - 4,999 | 16 | 18 | 40 | 191 | 199 | 174 |
| Under \$3,000 | 13 | 40 | 57 | 99 | 87 | 172 |

* The individual panels omit cases for which the characteristic in question was not ascertained.

employed a methodological device that we choose to call "control by elimination."

The procedure consisted of maintaining the previous control of age, but confining attention to the married respondents only (thus "controlling" marital status by elimination of all but one subcategory) and examining the relationships between reported health on the one hand and (a) education and (b) income on the other. This type of control is appropriate where the sample contains an overwhelming majority in a certain subcategory (e.g., as in this sample, where 71 per cent of the respondents were married). It is

impossible, of course, to say anything further about the effects of the eliminated factor or factors. Whatever the differences in reported health between broad status groups, however, they cannot be attributed to differences in age or differences in marital status *within* the remaining sectors (e.g., income categories) of the sample.*

Results of this further control can be seen in Table 3. In general, the variation in reported health according to socio-economic status remains when

*For a clear example of "control by elimination" that was built into the sample design itself, see the well-known Indianapolis study (17).

TABLE 3
PER CENT REPORTING "FAIR" OR "POOR" HEALTH—
MARRIED RESPONDENTS ONLY—BY AGE, EDUCATION, AND
FAMILY INCOME: ELEVEN MAJOR METROPOLITAN CENTERS, 1952

| Characteristic | Per cent reporting fair or poor health in each age group | | | Number of cases (equal to 100%) in each age group | | |
|-------------------------|--|----------------|--------------|---|----------------|--------------|
| | 21-34 years | 35-49 years | 50+ years | 21-34 years | 35-49 years | 50+ years |
| A. <i>Total</i> | 13 | 20 | 44 | 307 | 335 | 272 |
| B. <i>Education</i> | | | | | | |
| College | 0 | 3 | 26 | 63 | 35 | 39 |
| High school | 16 | 14 | 34 | 199 | 186 | 70 |
| Grade school | 13 | 36 | 52 | 45 | 114 | 161 |
| C. <i>Family income</i> | | | | | | |
| Over \$5,000 | 11 | 16 | 28 | 80 | 115 | 77 |
| \$3,000 - 4,999 | 16 | 17 | 45 | 161 | 171 | 126 |
| Under \$3,000 | 5 | 40 | 61 | 61 | 42 | 59 |

the additional control over marital status is introduced; at the same time, there is still a weaker association evident in the youngest age group. On the basis of this evidence—with at least partial control exercised over two relevant variables—it can be tentatively concluded that socio-economic status is an extremely important consideration with respect to reported health. In view of the widely discussed differentials in life style according to "social class," this conclusion may not be surprising, but the detailed processes that operate to bring about such differentials are certainly not adequately understood. Here is fertile ground for further explorations into the social-psychological aspects of stratification, as well as into the correlates of self-perceptions with respect to health.

It is to these matters that we now turn, in order to point up certain implications of our overall analysis.

DISCUSSION

Ideally, current research on leading social problems should provide guides for future action. At the very least, we should be sensitive to the possible clues for further research that might be directly designed to answer policy questions.

In the older age groups in the present study, the wealthy and the better educated reported better health, but it is obviously necessary to gain some understanding of the mechanisms that account for this fact. There is a close association between education and income, and the cash value of each increment of formal schooling for lifetime earning power is well known (4). But does education make a positive contribution that is independent of income? Do the better educated seek more or better medical attention, especially of a preventive nature? Are there crucial differences in housing conditions, diet and daily regimen between the various socio-economic strata that are operative here? Are the various strata subject to different kinds of emotional stress that have a bearing upon the individual's sense of well-being? There are a number of intriguing questions in this area—only a few of which have been enumerated here—for public health administrators and educators, and for social scientists of a variety of persuasions, theoretical and methodological.

A number of surveys have already been conducted on health issues. Some

*Social-psychological research in "mental health" is especially relevant here.

of these studies have gathered self-reports on health, together with data on the personal characteristics of respondents. The results of the study reported here may suggest further analysis or even re-analysis of these materials already gathered. The larger samples available in some instances would permit the application of more rigorous controls by cross-classification, and might more definitely confirm or refute the relationships which were only suggested here. More important, those involved in studies that are in initial planning or exploratory stages might find these results of some interest. The variables discussed here, plus additional factors not available for investigation in this secondary analysis, certainly deserve more intensive examination, and they might be incorporated in pending research designs. We have observed that much more information is needed concerning the agreement between (a) the state of health reported by respondents to interviewers and (b) objectively determined conditions (3).

The subject of this study must be investigated by other than sample survey techniques in cross-sectional designs. No one interprets a simple demonstration of an association as evidence of causation. With respect to education and income, for example, the main direction of influence may be the opposite of that implied in the foregoing discussion. In other words, poor health — whether real or imagined — might so inhibit the individual's activities as to prevent the acquisition of further education and contribute to a lower family income (3; 8; 11). Survey procedures are certainly not the only ways — and probably not the most effective of methods, when limited to cross-sectional design — to establish the true direction of these relationships.

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SOCIAL ISOLATION AND DIFFICULTIES IN SOCIAL INTERACTION OF RESIDENTS OF A HOME FOR AGED

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The purpose of this study* is to explore the relation between social isolation as experienced by elderly individuals prior to their admission to a home for aged and their subsequent difficulties in social interaction in the home.

Clausen and Kohn (4) conceptualize isolation as the "attenuation of interpersonal relationships." However, they point out that it is difficult to ascertain what constitutes sufficient at-

tenuation of interpersonal relationships to warrant being called isolation.

Townsend (13, p. 169) defines isolation operationally. According to him, an "isolate" is an elderly individual with a social contact score of 21 contacts per week or less. The obtained scores in his sample of 203 ranged from 2 to 208 contacts per week. In addition, he distinguishes "isolates" from "desolates;" the latter are defined as those who have experienced recent bereavement (13, p. 182). Another operational indicator of isolation which often is used is that of "living alone" or living in a "single person household" (6, 7, 14).

Lundberg and Lawsing (10, p. 277) state that "the completely isolated individual would be one who was not chosen by anyone as an associate in any of the activities or relations of a community."

In this study social isolation is defined as the absence of role relationships which are generally activated and sustained through personal interaction. The specific role relationships which are considered are immediate family, extended family, occupational roles and roles derived from living arrangements.

*An earlier version of this paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Seattle, Washington, August, 1958 under the title of "Some Consequences of the Social Isolation of the Aged." The data were gathered during an exploratory study, the results of which may be found in Tec, N., Granick, R., Burdock, E. I. and Zubin, J., *Prognostic Factors in the Mental Health of Residents of a Home for Aged*, available at Biometrics Research, 722 W. 168 St., N. Y., N. Y. This study was made possible by Research Grants from the National Institute of Mental Health of the National Institutes of Health, Public Health Services, United States Department of Health and Welfare.

We are grateful for the cooperation and interest offered so generously by Frederic Zeman, Alvin Goldfarb, Miss Marie Galpern and other staff members of the Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews. We also wish to thank Joseph Zubin, Eugene Burdock, Morris Zelditch, and Mrs. Shirley Sternberg for their invaluable assistance in the writing of this paper.

IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL ISOLATION

Several articles have discussed the consequences of social isolation. Lundberg and Lawsing (10, p. 277) hypothesized that the isolated individual "could not be very sensitive to the behavioral standards of the community because he is cut off from the currents which constitute the pressures by which these standards become operative on the individual, and hence he is almost certain to be a social problem."

The relationship between isolation and psychopathology has been investigated although no definitive conclusions have been reached (7, 8, 9, 15).

Sociologists involved in the study of the aged in our society have described aging as a process by which individuals become isolated from others through loss of major role relationships, especially within the familial and occupational systems (2, 3, 5, 12).

According to Parsons (11), the aged in our society experience extreme isolation because of three factors: the exclusiveness of the conjugal family which is prevalent in many segments of our population, the occupational structure and the functional interrelation between jobs and places of residence. Thus, exclusion from participation in the families of their adult children, inability to maintain jobs, the probability of having to live alone confront the aged with the prospect of social isolation.

Those conducting empirical investigations of the aged population have dealt with various aspects of the consequences of social isolation. Blau (2) found that loss of contact among the aged negatively affects their self-image. Williams and Jaco (16) found that "reduced social interaction or social disarticulation was implicated as an etiological or contributing factor in mental illness in old age," and that "significant improvement in overt behavior in so-called psychotics could be brought about by increased social ac-

tivities in a mental hospital." Bellin and Hardt (1) found that widowed* aged tend to have poorer mental health than those whose spouses are alive. Wanklin, et al. (14), studying admissions to mental hospitals in Canada, arrived at different findings: namely, that fewer of the aged who are admitted to mental hospitals tend to have histories of isolation than do residents of homes for aged. However, the only indicator of isolation used in the latter study was that of "living alone."

In summary, the literature on the consequences of social isolation indicates that isolation has a negative effect on the individuals who experience it as well as on the community in which isolates are found. The nature of these effects varies from negative self-image to deviance from social norms.

THE RESEARCH

Hypotheses. This study is a preliminary attempt to explore the relation between social isolation and interactional difficulties within an old age home. The general hypothesis is: *There is a direct relation between the social isolation of elderly individuals prior to admission to a home for aged and their subsequent difficulties in interaction in the home. Thus, the more isolated the individual, the more likely he is to have difficulties in interacting with others.*

The specific hypotheses to be tested are that the more isolated an individual is prior to his admission into the home, the more likely he is:

1. *to have difficulties in his interactions with other residents of the home.*
2. *to have difficulties in his interactions with staff members of the home.*

*Those who are widowed are isolated only in the sense that they may be compared with those who are married.

3. *to be transferred from the home to a mental hospital.*

Empirical Procedure. A home for the aged and infirm made their case records available for this study. Information was recorded in these records by staff members in chronological sequence from the time of an individual's initial application to the home until his death or permanent transfer elsewhere. The information recorded pertains to medical, social and psychiatric factors.

The sample consists of 50 residents of a home for aged who had been transferred to mental institutions and a control group of 50 who had not been subjected to such transfer. All the residents who had been transferred between the years of 1943 and 1954 were selected for study. A control group of fifty residents was selected by matching them individually to the transferred group on the following variables: age on admission to the home, year of admission, sex and nativity. In addition, an effort was made to select residents for the control group who had lived in the home for approximately the same length of time as their "partners" in the transferred group.

In order to obtain uniform data from the charts, an abstracting schedule was developed as follows: 20 charts were selected by taking every fifth chart arranged in alphabetical order for each group. The variables which recurred in these charts were extracted and ordered into standard categories.

Measure of Social Isolation. Four items were used as indicators of social isolation. The four items were treated as dichotomous variables, in that an individual either was or was not considered isolated on a given item. The following items indicate social isolation prior to admission:

- A. *Contact with relatives.* Isolation

is indicated by no contact with relatives.

- B. *Presence of children.* Isolation is indicated by absence of living children.

- C. *Length of unemployment.* Isolation is indicated by being unemployed for more than ten years or by never having been employed.

- D. *Mode of living.* Isolation is indicated by living alone.

The four items are not mutually exclusive and the extent of overlap between living alone and not having relatives or children was not ascertained. However, the items were retained because in some cases there was information available only on whether or not the person lived alone and not on the absence or presence of relatives.

The measure of isolation used in this study records the number of absent role relationships. The scores range from 0 to 4, where 0 means that no relationships are absent and 4 means that all four relationships selected for study are absent. Since only the absence of relationships is considered, scores of 3 to 0 could include one relationship on which there is no information. However, no individual studied lacks information on more than one relationship.

Table 1 shows the distribution of isolation scores. The distribution is skewed toward non-isolation. The median score is 1.

Items Indicating Difficulty in Social Interaction. The following items were selected from the charts as indicators of difficulties in social interaction.

- A. *Reported difficulties in interaction with other residents of the home as observed by social workers and recorded in the case records.* Information on resident interaction appears to have been recorded primarily when residents were having difficulties

TABLE 1
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF
SOCIAL ISOLATION SCORES FOR
THE TOTAL SAMPLE

| Isolation Scores* | Number |
|----------------------|--------|
| 4 | 7 |
| 3 | 15 |
| 2 | 24 |
| 1 | 25 |
| 0 | 29 |
| | 100 |

*High scores indicate isolation.

since only 17 of the 100 residents of the total sample were reported to be getting on with ease. This item was dichotomized as follows: reported difficulty and no reported difficulty. The latter category includes ease in interaction as well as no information.

- B. *Reported difficulties in interaction with staff members of the home.* As with the item discussed above, information appears to have been recorded mainly when the residents were having difficulty.
- C. *Transfer from the home to a mental institution.* This item is a rather stringent indicator since the home studied is reluctant to

transfer its residents to mental institutions. The home provides psychiatric care for its residents and even includes a "psychiatric ward." Thus in only rare cases are individuals transferred and between 1943 and 1954 only 50 transfers took place. Usually transfer occurs when the individuals are completely "unmanageable."

Findings. Table 2 shows the relation between degree of isolation experienced by subjects prior to their entry into the home and the quality of their interaction with other residents in the home. The proportion of residents with difficulty in interaction with their peers decreases progressively with decreasing isolation scores. This relationship is significant ($X^2 = 14.6$, $.01 > p > .001$; $\text{Tau}^* = 1$, $p = .008$) and supports the first specific hypothesis.

Table 3 is concerned with the second specific hypothesis which states that the more isolated an individual was prior to his admission to the home, the more likely he is to have difficulty in his interaction with staff

*The Kendall rank order correlation coefficient, Tau, correlating ranks of isolation score with their corresponding rank of relative frequency of difficulty in social interaction was also computed on all tables, since this statistic is independent of X^2 .

TABLE 2
OBSERVED DIFFICULTIES IN INTERACTION WITH PEERS
IN THE HOME FOR AGED BY ISOLATION SCORES

| Isolation Scores | Observed Difficulties in Interaction with Peers | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|----------|------------------|----------|----|----------|
| | Difficulty | | No Difficulty | | N | Per Cent |
| | N | Per Cent | N | Per Cent | | |
| 4 (Isolated) | 5 | 71.4 | 2 | 28.6 | 7 | 100 |
| 3 | 8 | 53.3 | 7 | 46.7 | 15 | 100 |
| 2 | 10 | 41.7 | 14 | 58.3 | 24 | 100 |
| 1 | 9 | 36.0 | 16 | 64.0 | 25 | 100 |
| 0 (Not Isolated) | 3 | 10.3 | 26 | 89.7 | 29 | 100 |

$$X^2 = 14.6, .01 > p > .001$$

$$\text{Tau} = 1, p = .008$$

TABLE 3
OBSERVED DIFFICULTIES IN INTEGRATION WITH STAFF IN THE
HOME FOR AGED BY SOCIAL ISOLATION SCORES

| Isolation Scores | Observed Difficulties in Interaction with Staff | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|----------|------------------|----------|----|----------|
| | Difficulty | | No Difficulty | | N | Per Cent |
| | N | Per Cent | N | Per Cent | | |
| 4 (Isolated) | 5 | 71.4 | 2 | 28.6 | 7 | 100 |
| 3 | 6 | 40.0 | 9 | 60.0 | 15 | 100 |
| 2 | 8 | 33.3 | 16 | 66.7 | 24 | 100 |
| 1 | 8 | 32.0 | 17 | 68.0 | 25 | 100 |
| 0 (Not Isolated) | 5 | 17.2 | 24 | 82.8 | 29 | 100 |

$$X^2 = 8.3, .10 > p > .05$$

$$\text{Tau} = 1, p = .008$$

members of the home. While at the extremes, this hypothesis holds true so that a greater proportion of the extremely isolated subjects tend to have difficulties with staff rather than no difficulty while a greater proportion of the non-isolated subjects have no difficulty, the relation is not significant by the X^2 test ($X^2 = 8.3, .10 > p > .05$). However, the rank order correlation shows significance ($\text{Tau} = 1, p = .008$). The majority of the residents seem to have no difficulty with staff members regardless of their isolation scores. However, this would be expected since residents tend to interact more frequently and intensely with other residents than they do with staff members.

The last specific hypothesis states that the more isolated an individual

was prior to his admission, the more likely he is to be transferred from the home. Table 4 shows that isolation and transfer from the home are significantly related ($X^2 = 11.13, .02 > p > .01$). However, there does not appear to be an orderly relation between the variables of isolation and transfer since a greater proportion of subjects with scores of two and one are transferred while a smaller proportion of those with scores of 3 are transferred. The strength of the relation appears to be determined by the extreme scores with little difference in the intervening scores. The rank order correlation is not significant. ($T = .4, p = .242$)

In summary, two of the three specific hypotheses were supported by the findings when using an X^2 test. The

TABLE 4
TRANSFER TO A MENTAL INSTITUTION BY SOCIAL ISOLATION SCORES

| Isolation Scores | Transfer to a Mental Institution | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|----------|--------------------|----------|----|----------|
| | Transferred | | Not Transferred | | N | Per Cent |
| | N | Per Cent | N | Per Cent | | |
| 4 (Isolated) | 6 | 85.7 | 1 | 14.3 | 7 | 100 |
| 3 | 7 | 46.7 | 8 | 53.3 | 15 | 100 |
| 2 | 14 | 58.3 | 10 | 41.7 | 24 | 100 |
| 1 | 15 | 60.0 | 10 | 40.0 | 25 | 100 |
| 0 (Not Isolated) | 8 | 27.6 | 21 | 72.4 | 29 | 100 |

$$X^2 = 11.13, .02 > p > .01$$

$$\text{Tau} = .4, p = .242$$

first and third hypotheses concerning the relation between isolation and difficulty in interaction with peers and transfer from the home received significant support. On the other hand, the rank order correlations of the distributions under the first two hypotheses concerning the relation between isolation scores and the relative frequency of difficulty with peers and staff were significant. The orderliness of the relation between these variables adds further support for the acceptance of the specific hypotheses. On the grounds that all of the hypotheses received some significant support, it may be tentatively concluded that the general hypothesis is upheld.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This paper deals with the relation between social isolation and difficulties in interaction of residents in a home for aged. In light of some of the literature on social isolation one general hypothesis, which was refined into three specific hypotheses, was explored. The hypothesis is that there is a direct relation between the social isolation of an individual prior to admission to a home for aged and the quality of his interaction with others following admission, such that the more isolated he is, the more likely is he to have difficulties in interacting with others. Social isolation was defined as the absence of role relationships which are generally activated and sustained through personal interaction.

It was tentatively concluded that the general hypothesis concerning the relation between isolation and interactional difficulties holds, since the specific hypotheses were supported by the findings.

The study of social isolation raises several problems for future research. The first problem is that of uncovering the process by which isolation comes to result in disturbances in social inter-

action if, in fact, such a relationship is substantiated by future research. It might be argued that loss of social contacts leads to lack of communication of behavioral expectations which subsequently desensitizes individuals to the existence of normative cues in a given social milieu. Students of aging seem to assume that deterioration of social skills in the aged is a consequence of the biological and psychological aging processes. However, it is quite possible that social skills could survive the onset of old age if social isolation did not occur simultaneously.

The second problem is that of discovering what is a cause and what is a consequence of social isolation. This problem revolves around the question of whether personality difficulties lead individuals to have difficulties in their interaction with others which then results in their exclusion from family and other relationships or whether exclusion comes before personality problems. Or are they both steps in a single, cyclical process? This suggests, further, that there is a need to distinguish both theoretically and empirically between self-imposed (voluntary) and socially imposed (involuntary) isolation in future research.

The third problem involves the classification of types of isolation. In the above paper it was assumed that isolation from children could be equated with isolation from work or relatives. Needless to say the consequences of each of these types of isolation might be quite different.

The fourth and final problem is that of the conditions under which social isolation of individuals is experienced by others as disruptive. Apparently, in a large community where interaction is not expected to be frequent and formal, an isolate may never be noticed and, if noticed, may be tolerated regardless of eccentricities in behavior. On the other hand, in a social system like a home for aged, where people

share rooms and dine with one another, an isolate may be experienced as highly disruptive. Thus, what is regarded as an interactional disturbance may be highly conditioned by the social context in which it occurs.

In view of the fact that the data in this study contained many difficulties because they were collected for another study and because of the limitations of case record information, the findings presented in this paper should be regarded as tentative. Research on this problem is being continued and all new admissions to the home are now interviewed routinely for information on the degree of social isolation experienced prior to admission. They are then reinterviewed twice after admission for information on the nature of their interactions in the home. In addition some of the problems raised above for future research will be investigated.

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WHO CRIES WOLF? THE REPORTERS OF DAMAGE TO POLICE IN A PSEUDO-DISASTER*

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Disasters and Pseudo-Disasters. Research on the community perception of and reaction to disaster focuses understandably on situations of havoc due to physical shock: a tornado in Worcester, a fireworks explosion in Houston, floods in the Rio Grande Valley. Such situations appear to simulate the conditions against which these studies are primarily designed to forearm us—namely, attack on large population centers by nuclear weapons.

The atomic age has surprises subtler than these in store for us, however, that concentration on the more dramatic instances of physical disaster may easily lead us to overlook. Fall-out over an area far removed from nuclear detonation-point and biological, bacteriological, and chemical warfare are examples of this kind. Their possibility, moreover, calls to mind other equally fantastic though perhaps less probable events, such as mass hypnoidal states induced by various forms of "nerve gas"; attacks by ultrasonic shock waves, cosmic rays, heat rays, and all the other weapons in the armory of science fiction. Indeed, science, which set out originally to "disenchant the world," is peopling it today with more hobgoblins than were ever to be found in a medieval forest. In an age in which the frontiers between the possible and the impossible are vanishing, "disasters" may conceivably take place in which members of a community feel sure that something has happened to them without knowing precisely what and for no intrinsic or at least apparent physical cause.

A previous paper has described processes of mass media diffusion and situation-defining in one episode of

this type, the Seattle windshield pitting epidemic of April 14-16, 1954 (3). In that episode, the attention of a large number of Seattle residents became centered on reports of sudden and widespread damage to automobile windshields throughout the city, although for almost a month prior to the 14th there had been intermittent accounts in Seattle papers of "vandalism" to windshields in Puget Sound communities north of Seattle. By the morning of the 16th, newspapers estimated that more than 5,000 cars had been affected; yet there was little agreement as to the exact nature of the damage, and widespread confusion as to its cause. An exhaustive chemical and physical study of the situation, reported several months after the "epidemic" had faded from the newspapers, confirmed what some had suspected all along: that damage to windshields, where it existed, was of the type incurred in the course of driving over a period of time rather than from some unusual attack or precipitation over the space of a few minutes or hours but that the sudden mass concern with windshields had brought this damage into view for many persons for the first time.

How do members of a community become alerted to pseudo-disasters of this type? The present paper undertakes to analyze one phase of the alerting process: the actions of individuals who call community agencies, especially the police, to report alleged damage or injury. The significance of these actions, at least in the episode under consideration, is that they were used by Seattle newspapers as critical indices of community concern with the "epidemic."

*Paper read at meeting of Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, Ga., April 1958.

A quotation from the Seattle morning paper, the *Post-Intelligencer*, for April 15 will make clear the sense in which persons who reported windshield damage to the police were the latter-day wolf-criers in this pseudo-disaster:

**WINDSHIELD VANDALS HIT
NORTH END HERE**

Windshields of more than 100 automobiles were damaged during the evening. . . . Shortly before 6 P.M. there was a report that three automobiles in a lot had been damaged. Then about 9 P.M. a motorist reported the windshield of his car had been hit at N. 82d St. Then came the deluge. Motorists were even stopping police cars on the street to report damage. . . . Police Capt. Frank Ramon said that more than 100 cases of windshield damage had been reported "and more reports are coming in all the time". . . .

Extent of Police Calls and Characteristics of Callers. How many persons reported windshield damage to the police, who were these callers, what types of calls did they make, and why did they make them? According to Seattle police records, a total of 298 persons reported unusual damage to automobile glass from the evening of April 14 to April 17, inclusive. Of these, 242 called between 6 P.M. April 14 and midnight April 15; 46 from 12:01 A.M. to midnight of the 16th; and 10 on the 17th. Police received no calls thereafter reporting unusual windshield damage. Calls on April 14-15 reported damage in all to 4238 cars, or approximately 17 cars per call. On the 16th and 17th, by contrast, only 56 cars in all were reported damaged, or only one per call.

For each call received, the police filled out a complaint investigation form listing, among other things, the location and nature of the complaint and the name and address of the com-

plainant. Using this information, two graduate students in sociology at the University of Washington and the writer interviewed a total of 70 police callers by telephone from May 15 to May 25—that is, more than a month after they had made their call. The selection of this group was not random but reflected rather the availability of its members for interview by telephone. The principal bias here is probably in the direction of overrepresentation of the middle and upper income and education brackets, as is usual with telephone samples. Because of this fact, and also because the sample is small, our interview data will be presented not primarily to demonstrate conclusions but rather to raise hypotheses and to suggest a method for study of the alerting process in pseudo-disaster situations, such as this one.

Sixty-four of the 70 respondents in the sample had called the police between approximately 8 A.M. and 11 P.M. on the 15th; the remainder on the 16th. Their calls represent, therefore, a response to and reinforcement of the mass polarization that began with the *Post-Intelligencer* report on the morning of the 16th, quoted earlier. We were, unfortunately, not able to contact persons who had called police on the evening of the 14th, largely because, in the rush of calls, police had in most instances recorded on the investigation form only the make and location of the car reported damaged.

In contacting complainants, the interviewer identified himself as a research worker in the Public Opinion Laboratory of the University of Washington who was making a follow-up study of the windshield damage situation in Seattle. After obtaining various types of background information, the interviewer asked the respondent to reconstruct the circumstances that had led him to report windshield dam-

age to the police, and to say, if he could, why he had called.

Who Were the Callers? A little over one-fourth of the sample have managerial or professional status or are self-employed (N-20); 40 per cent (N-28) are in white-collar or wage-earner jobs; 32 per cent (N-22) could not be identified occupationally. Members of the sample are concentrated in the younger working ages: 60 per cent (N-42) are between 25 and 44. None is over 65. They are on the whole well-educated: 40 per cent (N-28) had attended college, and all but eight had graduated from high school. Seventy per cent (N-51) of the police callers were men.

Understanding the Calls. With these data on the police callers as background, let us look more closely at the calls themselves. We are struck first by the fact that they are of two distinct types: in one, the caller reports damage only to his car; in the other, he reports damage either to a car other than his or, most often, to a number of cars, in addition to or other than his own. Thirty-four of our sample reported damage to cars other than their own; 35 only to their car; one caller could not be classified in either category because of insufficient information. The immediate significance of this distinction with respect to the alerting process is that the report of damage to a number of cars must be of greater valence than the report of damage to a single car. Beyond that, however, in a situation where sheer cognition—*i.e.*, knowledge of the incidence of damage—is so obviously interdependent with noncognitive factors, this distinction between type of complaint poses questions of motivation. Why did some people report damage only to their car? Why did some report damage to cars other than their own? Are we dealing with two different types of personality—the

more hysterical or disaster-prone, perhaps, who report multiple cases of damage, in contrast to the more conservative, factual sort of person?

As an initial check of this hypothesis, let us compare the educational distribution of the two types of callers. Unless the claims customarily made for education are totally groundless, we shall assume that increasing years of schooling bring with them corresponding increases in critical faculty, so that our hypothesis will pass its first test if the reporters of multiple damage prove to have had distinctly less formal education than those who indicated damage to their car only.

TABLE 1
EDUCATION: COMPLAINANTS OF
DAMAGE TO OWN CAR VERSUS
OTHER CAR(S)

| Years of School | Own Car | Other Car(s) |
|-----------------|---------|--------------|
| | N | N |
| — 11 | 5 | 3 |
| 12 | 17 | 14 |
| 13+ | 12 | 15 |
| Unclassified | 1 | 2 |
| | 35 | 34 |

Table 1 shows that the reverse of our expectations comes closer to the truth: 60 per cent of the single damage reporters had 12th-grade education or less, whereas only 50 per cent of the multiple callers fall in this category. Although this difference does not allow us to say positively that the multiple callers tend to be *better* educated than their comparison, it does at least sustain the negative hypothesis that *no* difference in educational distribution exists between these two groups.

To understand the difference between the two groups and, more particularly, the reasons for their calls, we must probe deeper. Let us picture the complaint of damage to the police as

a resultant of three factors: first, general beliefs of the caller concerning the windshield epidemic and its cause; second, the circumstances that led directly to the discovery of damage; third, the specific factors that oriented the damage finder to report his finding to the police. By examining each of these factors separately and in conjunction, we may arrive at a clearer understanding of the differences if any between the two groups of callers, as well as of the general phenomenon of spreading the alarm in pseudo-disasters.

Beliefs of Police Callers about Windshield Damage. We assume that persons sufficiently polarized by the windshield situation to call police regarding it tended strongly to believe that the pitting epidemic was real, not illusory, at least at the time of their call. Our subjects' answers to the question, "What did you think was causing damage to windshields at the time of the situation April 14-16?" bear out this expectation. Only 4 of the 70 said that *at the time of their complaint* they believed the concern with windshields resulted from "people noting ordinary road damage for the first time," or from "illusion and hysteria."

Did the *pattern* of belief about windshield pitting differ among our two types of callers, those who reported damage to their car only vs. those who reported damage to other

cars? Inspection of Table 2 shows no significant difference in the numbers who ascribed the windshield situation to vandalism at the time of the epidemic, 6 out of 35 vs. 10 out of 34; but that more of the single than multiple incident reporters blamed widespread atmospheric, cosmic and meteoric, or nuclear disturbances for the damage, 17 out of 35 vs. 9 out of 34. So far as vandalism is concerned, this pattern of belief is inconsistent in appearance only, for the newspapers and radio had pictured the vandalism connected with pitting as almost a form of guerilla warfare, so that it could easily have been held responsible for widespread or multiple damage. That more single than multiple incident reporters should have ascribed windshield damage to an agency manifestly capable of widespread impact—*i.e.*, atmospheric pollution—underscores again suspicion that the difference between these two types of callers cannot be laid simply to a difference in their *knowledge* of the extent of windshield damage.

Circumstances of Finding Damage. Our police callers not only believed in a general way that the windshield epidemic was real but most of them claimed in addition to have had direct evidence of damage, or of the cause of damage, or both (53 of the 70 stated positively that they had directly observed such damage either caused or being caused; only six of the re-

TABLE 2
BELIEF RE CAUSE OF WINDSHIELD DAMAGE AS OF APRIL 15-17:
COMPLAINANTS OF DAMAGE TO OWN CAR ONLY VERSUS OTHER(S)

| Belief re Cause | Own Car N | Other(s) N |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Vandalism | 6 | 10 |
| Illusion, hysteria | 1 | 3 |
| H or A-Bomb plus "Something in Air" | 17 | 9 |
| Don't Know | 11 | 12 |
| | 35 | 34 |

*Chi Square 3.8 significant at the 5 per cent level.

TABLE 3
SOCIAL CONTEXT IN WHICH EVIDENCE OF DAMAGE WAS FOUND:
COMPLAINANTS OF DAMAGE TO OWN CAR ONLY VERSUS OTHER CAR(S)

| Context | Own Car N | Other Car(s) N | Total |
|------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------|
| Group: Functionally specific | 8 | 14 | 22 |
| Group: Functionally diffuse | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Not classified: Group | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Individual | 17 | 9 | 26 |
| Not Classified | 9 | 9 | 18 |
| | 35 | 34 | 69 |

mainder stated that they did *not* have such direct observation). In what circumstances had they obtained their evidence? More particularly, were these circumstances of group interaction or of individual discovery? This is a logical question for a sociologist to ask, since he of all people should be sensitive to the reality-producing and defining functions of human groups.

The data are not so definitive on this point as we might wish, since interviewees were asked only to reconstruct in a general way the circumstances leading to their call and were not pressed directly concerning the point of group vs. individual discovery of damage. In the majority of cases, however, it proved possible to distinguish three contexts or circumstances of finding evidence of damage: individual; group, functionally specific; group, functionally diffuse. Breakdown of the figures by type of call in Table 3 shows that a larger number of those who reported damage to cars other than their own found such damage in a group context (16 out of 25) whereas more of those who reported damage to their car only found their evidence by themselves (17 out of 26).^{*} For example, a bank manager who reported damage to "30 or 40 cars" said: "Customers called me to look at windshields and cars in parking lot. All the windshields were cov-

ered with little holes; must have come from the air since holes were on all sides of the cars." By contrast, a butcher: "I was driving along — a mist came across windshield, then turned to something like snow. I stopped the car and saw the windshield was pock-marked."

Orientation to Police on Part of Callers. Our police callers with few exceptions have said that at the time of their call they believed that the damage to windshields was real, not illusory; and most of them stated that they had directly observed such damage either caused or being caused. With few exceptions, then, belief in the reality of windshield damage and direct experience of it were necessary conditions for calling the police. That they were not invariably sufficient conditions to motivate calling is indicated by the fact that in the sample of telephone respondents studied in our earlier paper, only 1 per cent had called the police to report damage, even though in response to the question "Have you had any unusual experience with windshields lately?" 234, or 23 per cent, answered yes; and 50 per cent of the sample stated positively that the damage to windshields had been caused by some unusual physical agent. We postulate, therefore, that an additional factor is involved in spreading the alarm as did members of our present sample: namely, *specific* orientation to police in connection with

^{*}Chi Square 4.9, d.f. 1, significant at the 5 per cent level.

TABLE 4

TYPE OF ORIENTATION TO POLICE IN REPORTING DAMAGE: N CASES WHO MENTION EACH TYPE, BY OWN CAR VS. OTHER CAR(S) COMPLAINANT

| Type of Orientation | Own Car N | Other Car N | Total* |
|---|--------------|----------------|--------|
| Mass media | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| Interpersonal | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| "Everyone calling" | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Vandalism | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| Official or Occupational responsibility | 3 | 14 | 17 |
| No specific orientation | 15 | 11 | 26 |

*Total Cases are more than 69, because some cases mention several types of orientation.

finding damage. Turning to our data, we find evidence of this factor in 34 of the 70 callers; in the remaining 36 cases this factor either was not present or else was not disclosed in the interview. Table 4 presents a summary of our findings respecting the factor of orientation.

Discussion of Table 4. Five persons reported damage to police because they claimed "the newspapers told everyone to do so," or because they had read in the newspapers that the police wanted real evidence of the damage. Three called because of "instructions to do so on radio." That mass media were mentioned only infrequently as specifically orienting factors may reflect the circumstance that such "instructions" never appeared in the Seattle papers on the dates that concern us (April 13, 14, 15, 16) and in all likelihood were never broadcast. "Interpersonal orientation" is involved whenever a respondent says he called police at the specific instigation of some specific person. We distinguished such cases from those in which the respondent said he called police because "everyone was calling" since that statement may refer to the wave of calls reported by mass media rather than to interpersonal orientation as such.

Seventeen per cent of our sample called police because they had "evi-

dence" that the windshield damage which they observed was caused by vandals, who are normally a police responsibility. By April 15th many Seattle residents were jittery over vandalism and oriented in that way to report any unusual activity of juveniles, or any unusual circumstances connected with their windshields, to the police. For example, a plant foreman who reported damage to 15 cars said that "he saw four boys about 14 years old walk through our lot about 11 A.M. (April 15) with sling shots. One had a Comanche hair-cut."

Twenty-four per cent of our sample said they called police out of a feeling of responsibility, official or occupational, for public safety, employee welfare, or protection of property. For example, the part-owner of a used-car lot called because of direct observation of damaged cars on his lot. A retired commander, USN, reported damage to his car because he thought it was in the public interest. When we break down the orientation factor by type of call, one striking fact emerges: nearly five times as many persons with official or occupational responsibilities for public safety, employee welfare, or protection of property, reported damage to cars other than their own, and frequently to many other cars, than solely to their car; and this type of orientation was mentioned more fre-

quently than any other among persons who reported damage to cars other than their own.

Discussion. In a penetrating critique, Form, Loomis, et al., note the prevailing tendency to phrase disaster research in terms of psychological concepts such as morale and adjustment, using as referent characteristics of individual personality (1)*. Drawing on Killian's research (2), however, they reason that adequate understanding of behavior in disasters requires in addition reference to the pre-existing social roles of community members rather than to their individual psychological resources alone.

The present study suggests the wisdom of applying Form and Loomis' approach to understanding behavior not only in disasters but in pseudo-disasters. Research on behavior in pseudo-disasters has been guided by individualistic concepts such as "suggestibility" or "lack of critical ability" chiefly because of the premise that in such cases only persons who are suggestible or who lack critical ability will take action with reference to the focus of community concern. Our study indicates, however, that one should not assume a general tendency for people of low education to "cry wolf" in pseudo-disasters because they lack "critical ability" or a general tendency for women to "cry wolf" because they are more "suggestible" than men.

Instead, we have found it necessary to refer the actions under scrutiny to factors of specific orientation and group involvement, derived from sex role and occupational status. We have found, for example, that protective and custodial responsibilities flowing from occupational status were important factors in orienting community members to call police in the situation we have studied. Also, we have traced a connection between valence

of action (i.e., reports of single or of multiple cases of damage) and group participation or involvement in events leading up to such action. These social factors help us better to understand behavior toward the focus of community concern in pseudo-disasters than do explanations couched in terms of the factors of individual psychology alone. Schatzman and Strauss suggest a further way in which role and status analysis may throw light on the pattern of wolf-crying in pseudo-disasters (4). If, as they conclude, the working class perspective on unstructured events such as disasters is highly personal, whereas that of the middle class is "other-" as well as "self"-oriented, we would expect reports of working-class people to be concerned principally with the damage, real or assumed, that they personally experienced; thus, in the Seattle episode such persons would be expected to report damage to their car only, whereas middle class persons would report damage experienced by others as well. Thus, when the wolf-crying process is taken out of the theoretical context of individual hysteria, and placed into that of social role and structure analysis, we are led to the hypothesis that persons who are oriented by status to community responsibility and leadership will play a more significant role in alerting their fellow-citizens to the threat of disaster and of pseudo-disaster than will persons of the class traditionally labeled as "highly suggestible" or "lacking in critical ability."

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THE USE OF DRUGS BY JAZZ MUSICIANS*

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A phenomenon which has attracted intermittent attention of a more or less sensational nature over the years is the association of jazz musicians with the use of narcotics. The general public makes such a direct connection between drug use and jazz musicians that it was recently occasion for a major news story when a prominent jazz artist announced that he was *not* taking drugs (15). The popular press has created an image of a typical wild-looking jazz musician who is a "hop-head."

How great a discrepancy there has been in the past between press accounts of the extent of addiction and scientific reports could perhaps be seen most clearly in 1924, when the U. S. Public Health Service reported that there were 110,000 addicts in the country, at a time when a number of newspapers said that there were four million. In the United States, carnival workers and other itinerant entertainers have had a tradition of taking morphine and opium and there have been various unsubstantiated guesses about the proportion of entertainers who use opiates.

Other than entertainers and musicians, it has traditionally been believed

*Many individuals and organizations cooperated in this study, but appreciation of their help cannot be acknowledged individually without compromising the anonymity of some respondents.

that physicians represent the occupational group most likely to be associated with narcotic use. The incidence of narcotic addiction among physicians has been estimated at about one half of one per cent by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (7). Other estimates have gone as high as two per cent. In England, the narcotic control procedures which are so often contrasted with ours, approximately 17 per cent of the small number of known addicts are physicians, and "jazz band musicians" are the second most frequently found addict occupational group (6, p. 15).

This study was undertaken in order to determine how many jazz musicians use narcotic drugs, with what effects, and what the trends in drug use seem to be. It was conducted in New York City, both because it has 43 per cent of the nation's known addicts (16) and because it is the jazz music capital of the country. There are no reliable data available on how many of the approximately 30,000 professional musicians in New York play jazz. It can be speculated, on the basis of informal estimates by students of the industry, that about half are classical and half are non-classical musicians. Of the perhaps 15,000 non-classical musicians, it can be further speculated that some 5,000 are jazz musicians.

An attempt was made to explore the feasibility of interviewing a

probability sample of the jazz musicians. A pre-test indicated the difficulty in locating specific jazz musicians because of their frequent travels, the wariness of those who were approached directly, and the lack of adequate classificatory data on the basis of which a sample might be drawn. It was necessary therefore to abandon the probability sample approach. Instead it was decided to attempt to interview those musicians working in the New York area who could be asked to submit to an interview through the good offices of various co-operative organizations and persons associated with jazz. Contact was established with at least one member of each jazz group which performed in New York during this period, who was asked if he would consent to be interviewed. It was emphasized that no special knowledge of drug use was needed by the musician for the interview. Occasionally it was not possible to arrange for the interview until after the group's engagement was over, so that such a respondent would not be working at the time of the actual interview. Contact was also established with individual jazz musicians who lived in New York but who did not have any specific current band affiliation.

Of the 690 musicians who were approached for an interview, 409 consented to be and were interviewed, during 1954-1955. Of these interviews, 357 were usable. The 281 who refused did not appear to differ significantly from the interviewed group in terms of length of musical experience or race. Whether the incidence of contact with or use of drugs was greater in the refusal group than in the interviewee group is not known. It is possible that those who refused were concerned about being identified with drug use and thus may have been more familiar with it than were the musicians who were interviewed.

The age of the musicians interviewed ranged from 18 to 54. The mean age was 33. Sixty-nine per cent were white and 31 per cent were Negro. The mean length of time that the respondents had been professional musicians was 13 years. The lack of reliable data on the age, race or length of professional musical activity of the musicians in the New York area makes it impossible to tell how representative this sample is of working musicians in New York City in terms of customary classificatory criteria. However, representatives of 66 of the 89 important jazz bands in this area during this period were included in the group interviewed. No special attempt was made either to interview or avoid known drug users.

Slightly over half of the interviews were conducted in the author's office. The rest were conducted in various other locales and at times convenient to the respondents. Every attempt was made to keep the interview situation as non-threatening and informal as possible. An interview guide was followed, although the respondents were encouraged to speak as discursively as they liked. The interview guide covered the drug use of the members of the band in which the respondent was then playing. The mean respondent described 5.4 musicians. If he was unemployed, he was asked about the members of the band in which he had most recently been working. The nature of the contact among a jazz band's musicians is such that it is unlikely, though possible, that a user of either marijuana or heroin would not be known to his colleagues as a user.

INCIDENCE

Each respondent was asked to describe the drug use (or non-use) behavior of every member of the band which he was describing, excluding himself. In spite of the interviewer's specific request that the respondent ex-

clude himself, 67 per cent included discussions of their own behavior. The incidence of drug behavior of these respondents correlated .87 with that of the total group described. The respondents were asked not to mention any names, although data on race and estimated age were obtained. Where necessary, the respondents referred to other musicians by the instrument which they played. On the basis of the respondent's description of each musician, he was later classified as a non-user, tried at least once, occasional user, or regular user of marijuana and/or heroin. The word "addict" was avoided wherever possible because of its ambiguity.

The reports of drug use were thus made of specific individuals within each band. No weighting procedures were employed, since each musician described was regarded as being as important as any other musician. Where there was more than one respondent describing the members of the same band, there was practically no disagreement about the drug status of any individual described. Where it was obvious that two respondents were describing the same individual, he was only counted once in computing the averages.

Some of the bands described had practically no marijuana or heroin use; others were reported as having all of their members involved in considerable drug activity; and some had both drug-using and non-drug using members. In terms of individual musicians, 82 per cent were reported as having tried marijuana at least once, 54 per cent were occasional users, and 23 per cent were regular users. A smaller degree of heroin use was reported among band colleagues. Fifty-three per cent were said to have used heroin at least once, 24 per cent were seen as occasional users, and 16 per cent as regular users. There tended to be more cer-

tainty about identifying the more regular than the more infrequent users.

Only a few musicians were said to be using cocaine, probably because of its very high cost and the extremely short period during which it is effective. A number of respondents (27 per cent) observed that some musicians experiment with various drugs, just as others try different kinds of liquor. They experiment with different kinds until they find the one that affords maximal satisfaction. Some may be taking several drugs simultaneously rather than remaining with one drug.

The interviewees said that almost everybody in the band knew who the drug users were. They reported that users varied in the extent to which they attempted to convert non-users, with some few trying to do so (4 per cent), some relatively indifferent (23 per cent) to doing so, and other drug users (7 per cent) who actively warned non-users against beginning the use of drugs. Approximately four times as much proselyting activity was reported on behalf of marijuana as on behalf of heroin.

Most of the drug-using musicians were said to be relatively discreet about the mechanics of drug ingestion. They almost never did so while performing, although the time just before (21 per cent) and after (17 per cent) performance was said to be favored. Fifty-four per cent felt that it was not possible to generalize about when drugs were taken. Almost all (83 per cent) felt that heroin users were more secretive about the manner in which they took the drug than were marijuana smokers.

A number of respondents (32 per cent) made comments to the effect that during the height of the period of drug use by musicians (which was a few years before the interviews were conducted), the use of drugs was al-

most taken for granted by some elements of the industry. Some respondents referred to the towns in which they had played by the generic name of "Potville." ("Pot" is slang for marijuana.) Some noted that cities like Billings, Montana, and Tacoma, Washington, were avoided by some jazz bookers, who knew that it was impossible to buy any drugs in these communities, and that there would be musicians who would be less than enthusiastic about spending time in a community which had no "merchant" (peddler).

EFFECTS OF DRUG USE ON PERFORMANCE

The effect of marijuana and heroin on jazz performance was a specific focus of questioning because of the paucity of empirical studies on the effect of drug use on musical performance. There are no studies of how opiates affect musical performance or response. Some authoritative studies have reported that marijuana sometimes causes temporary psychosis (12). Two widely quoted studies on a small number of subjects have demonstrated that marijuana use leads to a decline in performance on an objective musical aptitude test (1; 20). However, a test in which non-musicians are given objective questions on matters like the consonance of pitch between two sounds can hardly be compared to the musical creativity and expertise required of the jazz musician playing in a group situation which is based on mutual reinforcement and in which improvisation may be extremely important.

On the basis of their observation of fellow musicians who took either marijuana or heroin, the respondents were asked about the effects of each of the drugs on the performance of each musician whom they described as a user. They were also asked about the effects of drug use on the whole band.

Rather than give the respondents multiple-choice questions based on logical alternatives, it was regarded as more important that the respondents express themselves in their own language on this subject. A content analysis was subsequently made of the responses by the author and independently by another analyst, into categories established by the author and delineated by specific rules. Any disagreements on where a given response should go were resolved by joint discussion, although there were few such cases. The various categories established for drug use were not mutually exclusive, so that any given musician being described might be classified in more than one category.

Very few (3 per cent) of the respondents expressed any morally toned comments on their colleagues' use of either marijuana or heroin. The majority (67 per cent) of the non-user respondents felt sorry for the users. "It's their business if they want to," was a common (42 per cent) reaction. Those respondents who said that they themselves were drug users tended to be more likely to attribute positive qualities to other musicians' drug use than those musicians who had not described themselves as drug users, although there is no way of knowing the extent to which such comments were unconsciously self-justificatory, or represented accurate perception. The users were also more detailed and precise in their comments than the non-users. The respondents were generally unaware of the existence of individual differences in response to drugs and saw the musicians' reaction as a kind of schematic, all-or-none response. "Drugs treat everybody the same," said one respondent who was himself a user.

Marijuana. A large majority (69 per cent) observed that marijuana smokers seldom behave in a "frantic" (agitated) manner, whereas heroin

users often do, usually because of their much more serious reaction to lack of the drug. Twenty-two per cent did not know the effects of marijuana on performance. It was believed by 31 per cent of all respondents to make a musician play worse than he would without the drug, and by very few (2 per cent) to be damaging to the body. It was believed by 19 per cent to help a musician to play better. A number of respondents (12 per cent) observed that this was especially true if the other members of the band were also on marijuana. Eight per cent of the respondents saw a musician playing better even if he were the only musician in the band who had taken marijuana. Eleven per cent observed that a musician who took marijuana regularly might need it in order to play at his optimal level.

The contagious effect of marijuana can be seen in the "contact high" referred to by a number (14 per cent) of respondents. This is the result of several musicians playing while "on" (having taken marijuana) and another musician who has not taken drugs walking in to the session and not knowing that the others were "on." An observer would note that the new person had picked up much of the special quality of the marijuana-using members of the group through a special kind of emotional group contagion—the "contact high." If, for example, a pianist on marijuana were playing a tune which had standard chords and unexpectedly changed the chords, a saxophonist would be more likely to pick up the change and integrate the new chords if he had a "contact high." It is, of course, possible that the "contact high" is part of the ideology which makes possible the use of narcotic drugs, and like other comments by some respondents on the effects of marijuana and heroin, it may be a part of a mythology which at this time can only be reported, until the

development of better objective procedures for measuring such phenomena.

A number (7 per cent) commented that marijuana lends itself to musical whimsy and humor. A few (2 per cent) spoke of the conflict between marijuana's activation of mental ability and its simultaneous braking effect on physical activity, so that a musician might be unable to translate his new perceptions into appropriate sounds. A few (2 per cent) observed that the musician's altered perception of time and space could permit him to perceive new space-time relationships which might enable him to play either better or worse on different occasions. They pointed out that by expanding the musician's conception of space and time, marijuana seemed to retard the beat of the music. The musician thus felt that he had leisure to express his musical ideas, which might be either an advantage or a disadvantage in individual cases.

A number of respondents (8 per cent) noted that even though a musician's technical facility may be slightly retarded while on marijuana, he is likely to have had so much practice that the impairment may not be serious, or even audible, especially if he is playing a relatively familiar piece. The drug is, these respondents believe, more likely to interfere with the marijuana user's ability to play a new and relatively unfamiliar piece. Over a third (36 per cent) of the respondents noted that most jazz musicians think that they play better while on marijuana, even if they may actually be playing worse, because they feel that "nothing's in the way" of their expression. It could be speculated that one reason for the frequently found subjective feeling that the musician is playing better when on drugs is perhaps that the kind of dependent person who takes the drug is having his dependency affirmed every time he

takes it (10). Thus having again re-established and satisfied his dependency, he feels relatively free to "let go" and express himself in music.

Heroin. Although there was a relatively tolerant attitude toward marijuana use, there was a much more cautious and concerned attitude about heroin, which a number of musicians called "the hard stuff." Many respondents (53 per cent) regarded heroin use as dangerous and damaging to the body. There was a general feeling that its procurement involved much more contact with the underworld than was necessary with marijuana. There was more difficulty in answering questions about what effect heroin had on a musician's performance than was the case with marijuana. Musicians were more aware of the dangers of a severe jail sentence for a heroin violation than they were of a sentence for a marijuana violation, although jail sentences and economic trouble were often (63 per cent) mentioned as being among the effects of any kind of drug use.

Many (32 per cent) pointed out that if a musician is a regular user of heroin, his musical norm would have to be his behavior while on drugs. Such a person can only play, or function at all, when he is taking heroin. If a musician is not a regular user, taking heroin irregularly may make him "go on the nod" (become sleepy) and be less alert, and thus less able to perform effectively as a musician. Some 27 per cent did not know the effects of heroin on performance. Over half (51 per cent) said that it decreased the quality of performance. Nine per cent felt that it might make the musician play better.

One respondent voiced a reaction which was mentioned by a few others and which exhibits considerable insight. "Heroin makes me feel better, but has little effect on my playing.

I do feel I can execute things a little more freely than when I'm off. Some days I'd love to be back in bed instead of playing, and on these days heroin helps me to play at all." An example of the kind of rationalization employed by some heroin users was a comment by one very successful musician, who compared taking heroin to "... going into a closet. It lets you concentrate and takes you away from everything. Heroin is a working drug, like the doctor who took it because he had a full schedule so he could concentrate better. It lets me concentrate on my sound."

SOCIAL FACTORS

The respondents were asked about a number of social factors which appeared to be related to musicians' drug use. One such factor was the drug climate of the band itself. For example, a number mentioned one noted band in which all the members but one took marijuana regularly. The one non-marijuana smoking member of the band was called an addict by the other members because he took Miltown. In this band, marijuana use was thus the norm. The social acceptability of a marijuana smoker in a band which had no other users of the drug would be quite different. In each such case the attitude of the band's leader and the rest of the band toward drug use would create the climate. A related social dimension noted by some respondents (13 per cent) was that drug-using musicians might help other users get jobs in their bands in order to help maximize the available supply of the drug. Some respondents (12 per cent) observed that a few of the night clubs at which they performed had been fairly hospitable to the sale or even use of drugs by musicians or audience members, so that making a "buy" was not as difficult as it might otherwise have been.

Over half the musicians interviewed

(53 per cent) referred to reasons for musician drug use which can be translated into what sociologists would consider awareness of one's own upward or downward mobility. For example, a number of respondents said that young musicians may take drugs to accelerate their progress to the top, because some of their idols take drugs and they want to "blow" (play) like some famous addict musician with whom they identify. Every few years there is a new "only man who really blows," who has many idolators. Some respondents observed that a few of the undisputed geniuses of modern jazz were widely known as heroin addicts, and there is reason to believe that some younger musicians may have begun using the drug on the basis of some kind of magical identification with their heroes and the assumption that they would play better if they, too, were drug users. It could be speculated that once such musicians had become addicted, their realization that drugs were not helping them to play better or become famous, if they did develop such an insight, seldom could have any effect on their addiction if it had already developed.

A number of respondents (9 per cent) noted that some older musicians may believe that their chances for more recognition will be improved if they take drugs, especially as they see the years go by without what they regard as adequate recognition. On a less conscious level, it might be speculated that an older man who has not been successful may take drugs in order to try to compensate for what he may regard as failure.

Some respondents (18 per cent) made some connection between socioeconomic conditions and drug use. They observed that some musicians seem to have begun taking drugs at a time when they had difficulty in finding work, especially in the early 1950's, when "cool" jazz was tempo-

rarily on the downgrade. On the basis of such respondents' comments, it can be speculated that the vocational failure experiences of some musicians may have encouraged regressive behavior because of the attrition of their defenses resulting from their unemployment. Drugs may have seemed to such performers to be one way out of their problem, although they usually, of course, created new and extremely serious problems by becoming drug users.

Another environmental circumstance cited by some musicians (21 per cent), especially those over 30, in its relation to drug use is the effect of the "one-nighter" dance or night club date, which represents the most lucrative type of band work and which used to be very common. The musicians usually traveled by chartered bus, covering long distances in a day. They often arrived unkempt and tired, just before they were to perform before an audience relaxing with liquor and eager for fun. Some musicians could almost never be as fresh as they wanted to be, without the use of a stimulant. One heroin user interviewee described how he began taking the drug. "I was traveling on the road in 1952. We had terrible travel arrangements and traveled by special bus. We were so tired and beat that we didn't even have time to brush our teeth when we arrived in a town. We'd get up on the bandstand looking awful. The audience would say 'Why don't they smile? They look like they can't smile.' I found I could pep myself up more quickly with heroin than with liquor. If you drank feeling that tired, you'd fall on your face."

Although non-musician drug users generally do not drink and regard the "wino" (alcoholic) with disdain (21, p. 12), the respondents reported that most (72 per cent) of the marijuana users and over half (62 per cent) of the heroin users also occasionally or

regularly drank liquor. It might be speculated that the reason for drug-using musicians being relatively hospitable to liquor is its ready access at their places of employment, whereas non-musician drug users have to make more of an effort to get liquor. It is also possible that since the jazz musician is already a member of a special in-group because of his vocation, he does not need the kind of in-group reinforcement which the non-musician drug user gets by scoffing at liquor drinkers.

A factor related to drug use which was mentioned by some respondents (16 per cent) is that many musicians are fairly "keyed up" after playing emotionally demanding music like jazz for five or six hours, up to the early morning hours, and drugs help them to "unwind." It can be speculated that only musicians with some kind of personality predisposition responded to the rigors of traveling or tension by taking drugs and becoming habituated or addicted can hardly be unilinearly attributed to such external causes, since there clearly were persons who were in the same situation and did not ever experiment with drugs.

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES

Race. Of the musicians described as occasional or regular users of marijuana by the respondents, 73 per cent were white and 27 per cent were Negro. Of those described as occasional or regular users of heroin, 67 per cent were white and 33 per cent were Negro. There is no way of knowing whether these incidences are more or less than the proportion of Negroes in the jazz musician population. Previous studies of drug users have reported that a large proportion are Negroes, and that addiction is concentrated both racially and spatially (21, p. 18).

It is possible that the sample's composition is reflected in its perception

of drug use by race. It might be speculated, however, that Negroes are not over-represented among musician drug users. Negroes are disproportionately present in the general addict population because they represent the kind of low status and low income minority group in which drug use is concentrated in New York (3). The working Negro jazz musician is highly trained, generally enjoys high status and income, and represents a proud group which has given rise to most of the innovations in the whole jazz field.

It is possible that one partial explanation for the evident decline of the "blues" and of spirituals in the last decade is many Negro jazz musicians' regarding these genres as reminders of the inferior status of the Negro, and their desire to have jazz transcend some of its more narrow stereotypical racial elements. It is almost routine for jazz groups featuring Negroes to be sent abroad by the State Department as good will ambassadors. Thus we might speculate that the Negro in the jazz world cannot be said to have a depressed status like that of the Negro in the general population, and to be reflecting his marginality through drug use.

Age. Marijuana and heroin use are found at all age levels, although marijuana use was more common among the younger musicians described by the respondents. The mean age of the occasional or regular marijuana users was 24.3, and of the heroin users 29.6. Relatively few musicians (2 per cent) used both drugs simultaneously. Only a few respondents (8 per cent) knew whether any of the heroin users they described had used marijuana before beginning the use of heroin; almost all of those on whom there was information had done so.

Marijuana use was likely to be seen by the respondents as a kind of intermittent activity to which the musician

might return irregularly over an extended time period. Heroin use was generally seen as a more concentrated experience, more intensive but lasting over a shorter time span. The respondents' observations suggested that a musician who still had any interest in heroin by the time he was 30, had become addicted by the time he reached that age. There were disproportionately large numbers of marijuana users reported up to the age of 26, after which age the use of marijuana appeared to be almost evenly distributed to age 48, beyond which no users were reported. Heroin use was concentrated in the age group from 25 to 39, after which it fell off to very little.

There were only two musicians referred to by the respondents who were over 40 and still taking heroin. There were five respondents who were over 40 and who had been regular heroin users but who had stopped using the drug in their late thirties or early forties, generally for reasons of which they were unaware. As one 43 year old musician said, "There were just longer and longer periods between the times when I took a shot. I guess you could say I diminuendoed out of it." Although the respondents were generally quite voluble on the subject of the various reasons for musicians' starting drug use, few had any observations or comments on how or why musicians stopped drug use.

It might be speculated that those musicians who became habituated to marijuana use do so for a combination of adventitious personality and social factors which seem to become less salient as they grow older, but from which the typical marijuana user becomes disassociated relatively gradually. The factors which lead to heroin use are likely to be experienced much more urgently and intensely felt by the musician, but over a shorter period of time. One possible theory to explain

the cessation of heroin addiction among musician addicts in their late thirties is that those who began taking heroin in their late teens or early twenties as a response to the problems of early adulthood, mature out of addiction by the time they are in their late thirties, for reasons which are not known but possibly because the stresses and strains of life are becoming stabilized for them and because the major challenges of adulthood have passed. This cycle is perhaps analogous to that of the prototypical delinquent whose delinquency increases during his teens and remains constant till he reaches his late twenties, when it declines.

It is possible that addict musicians see life as less likely to require aggressive action by the time they reach their late thirties, and problems like those involving the expression of sex and aggression which drug use has helped them to evade or solve or mask, have become less urgent. It is possible that maturing out of addiction is one possible explanation of the phenomenon, in addition to the accepted sociological explanation of drug-taking as a solution to withdrawal distress in the case of heroin addiction (8) or the undergoing of a certain sequence of events in the case of marijuana habituation (2). There is little reason to believe that withdrawal distress is less serious at age 40 than at age 25, unless some maturational process in the life cycle of the drug user is postulated.

Professional Success. Each of the musicians described was classified by the respondents as either a very successful, successful, or average musician. Each musician was also classified by the author into one of three sub-groups: non-users of either marijuana or heroin, occasional or regular users of marijuana, and occasional or regular users of heroin. It was hypothesized that a significant positive corre-

lation existed between drug users and non-users and their degree of success. However, no significant difference was found between users and non-users by degree of success. When a comparison was made by degree of success for marijuana and heroin users, no significant differences were manifest between the two groups of drug users. Thus there appears to be no significant relationship between either the heroin or marijuana user and the degree of professional success attributed to him by his peers.

The success parity of drug users with non-users is all the more remarkable because the typical musician user is likely to have been arrested or convicted for a narcotics violation. A musician who has been arrested, even if not convicted, may be denied the police cabaret card which he needs in order to perform in a New York night club for more than three days. Many bandleaders dislike hiring drug users because of their unreliability as well as the possibility of their getting into trouble with the law. Since nine-tenths of the musicians in the New York area are unemployed at any one time (5), there is relatively keen competition for the jobs which are available.

The drug-using musician thus has a number of special handicaps which he must overcome before he can get work. If, in the face of all of these difficulties, he is still regarded as being as successful as non-drug users, it is possible that his special qualities may include more talent than a comparable non-user may have. Or, the respondents may have unconsciously applied their own correction factor and described the degree of success which each of these musicians might have achieved if he had not been a drug user, although the interview did not include any instructions to apply such a correction factor. Another possibility is that some of the drug users were

helped in achieving some kinds of success because they were users.

Addict physicians, the only other occupational group on which there are data, have been reported to be more successful than non-addict physicians (4). The widespread popular impression that there is a positive correlation between success in jazz and drug use is probably attributable to the publicity generated by a few famous jazz artists, and to the public's interest in the romantic legend which couples talent, drug use, and early death. Some of the most famous addict musicians used to say publicly that they performed better before they became drug users, but there is no way of knowing if they actually felt this way or if it was one procedure by which they expressed their regret at the young musicians whom they might have inspired to drug use, or whether it was a warning to others who were contemplating drug use.

Language. The respondents in this study, user and non-user alike, tended to talk in jazz jargon. Some used this jargon more than others, but almost all understood it. It is impossible to talk to either jazz musicians or addicts without becoming aware of the extent to which they share a special language of fantasy and alienation, in which values are reversed and in which "terrible" is a description of excellence. This language is also used by criminals (19). It is not only a secret language, but it is a means of expressing fantasies and discontent with ordinary language and reality. The professional names of some famous jazz musicians have a fantasy element: Duke, Count, Lord, President, Lady, King, Bird.

The interest, whether conscious or not, of musicians, criminals and addicts in pathology is seen in the kind of phrases used to describe the music they like: frantic, it kills me, wild,

crazy, the end. To these groups, "tough" means good. Drug users probably developed most of the key phrases in this jargon as outgrowths of various aspects of drug-taking activity. For example, the key concept of being "hip" (a member of the in-group) derives from the slight atrophy of the hip which resulted from lying on one preferred hip and balancing opium equipment on the other hip (11). A "hip" person was thus originally an opium smoker.

Jazz has up to quite recently been an outsider's music, and its taking over so much narcotic slang has doubtless been a reflection of the marginal role of the musician. This language has been shared by a variety of those deviant groups which constitute the gray subculture with which jazz music has for so long been associated. The language's having been derived almost entirely from narcotics slang has meant, however, that a jazz musician was thus almost willy-nilly reminded of narcotics use almost every time he spoke to a colleague. It may therefore be speculated that the use of this "hip" talk by jazz artists was a factor in helping to create an environment in which it was relatively easy to regard drug use as an accepted kind of behavior.

Milieu. It would appear, on the basis of the respondents' remarks, that the jazz musician is in an environment in which drug use might almost be regarded as an accepted activity. He usually works at night, in night clubs where the patrons are likely to be mildly intoxicated and some of which may have some connection with the drug trade. Musicians' slang is that of the addict and the criminal. From the epidemiological point of view, which would regard addiction as a contagious disease, the world of jazz contains a large number of potential hosts to the disease of addiction and a number of carriers, some of them enjoying very

high status. The environment is a uniquely favorable one for the spread of the contagion. Even though the incidence of addiction may be relatively high, for the occupational group of jazz musicians, under the circumstances it is perhaps more surprising that host resistance to the disease is as high as it seems to be.

The only study of self-selection of drug users in a roughly comparable situation is a study of a group of American Indian peyote users, in whom drug use was not frowned upon (18). It was found that the members of the tribe who were most attracted to peyote had difficulty in identifying either with the tribe or with the world outside the tribe. It could therefore be speculated that drug use among jazz musicians might be found among the more socially alienated musicians.

Other Deviations. It is traditional for the behavior of drug addicts to be part of a larger pattern of deviant behavior, with men involved in burglary, women likely to be prostitutes, and other manifestations of criminal subculture (17). Sexual deviation is also sometimes found. The respondents reported that this larger pattern of anti-social behavior generally does not obtain among drug-using jazz musicians. When they are working, they often earn enough money to buy drugs without resort to theft. Their irregular night working hours and the connection between some night club proprietors and the drug traffic, help to make it relatively easier for them to get drugs than it is for the average user. Few (1 per cent) of musician users were described as being homosexual.

Classical Music. Previous studies report practically no classical musicians as drug users (13, pp. 53-56). Why should classical music be so relatively unlikely to spawn drug use compared to jazz? We might speculate that the

performance of a piece of classical music is a more integrated, fulfilling and complete experience than is the performance of a jazz piece, which is likely to be played differently each time it is performed, with far less closure than a classical performance is likely to have. Improvisation is a central element in jazz and it is possible that there are certain personality characteristics which attract the jazz musician to a field in which it is not necessary to follow a score literally, but in which hovering around the reality of the beat of the music is a desirable quality. One jazz musician who has openly discussed how marijuana use improved his playing has said: "Our rebel instincts broke music away from what I would call the handcuff and straitjacket discipline of the classical school. . . ." (14, p. 127).

Classical performers are also more likely to have social respectability and to be conformists than jazz musicians. The classical musician's work is likely to be much more regular and long-term than the jazz artist's "gig" (engagement), which may involve very extensive travel away from home, as well as very late hours. The audiences for classical music are relatively staid, whereas members of a jazz audience, up to fairly recently, were likely to be relatively non-staid. The symphony hall offers a sharp contrast to the jazz night club in terms of the expectations of the two audiences. Perhaps most important, the structure of classical music does not permit the individual musician to be as independent as the jazz "sideman" (instrumentalist) traditionally is, suggesting the possibility that different personality types self-select themselves to be either classical or jazz musicians, and that the characteristics of some jazz artists are likely to be consonant with some characteristics of narcotic users.

JAZZ MUSIC AND DRUG USE

It could be speculated that drug use

reinforces the feeling of estrangement from society of many musicians, so that they may express such estrangement in jazz music, which has traditionally been a protest music. Some respondents mentioned anecdotes which illustrated how jazz expression and drug use could be combined to engage in protest activity by mocking constituted authority. One anecdote, mentioned by six respondents, dealt with a jazz group, all the members of which smoked marijuana, and which played at a benefit for a police narcotic group. The jazz group played "Tea For Two," "Tumbling Tumbleweed," "Flying Home," and a number of other tunes which had synonyms for narcotics in their titles. Another dealt with the famous musician who is shown on the cover of a recent record album he made with the carrying case of his instrument. A number of respondents delighted in telling the interviewer that it was "well known" that the carrying case contained several pounds of marijuana.

Since the 1920's, one popular procedure for combining musical expression with interest in drugs was to make records or perform pieces with thinly veiled references to narcotics in their titles: Hophead, Muggles, Reefer Song, Viper's Drag, Sweet Marijuana Brown, Weed Smoker's Dream, Chant of the Weed, Pipe Dream Blues, Kicking the Gong Around, You're a Viper, Reefer Man, Doctor Freeze, and Vonce, are among many such titles, some of which achieved considerable success. The lyrics as well as the title of many jazz pieces have dealt with narcotics, at least up to fairly recently.

The continuing interest of jazz musicians in stimulants suggests the possibility that there may be a circular interrelationship among several factors: The degree to which a musician feels rejected by his culture, the stimu-

lant he takes, and the music he plays. This relationship may provide a social context for stimulant use independent of whatever individual personality variables may be relevant.

In the New Orleans period of jazz, in the early years of the twentieth century, the stimulant most widely used by jazz musicians was alcohol, the use of which was socially acceptable. Famous pianist Jelly Roll Morton reported that he and his fellow New Orleans musicians used to go out of their way to get funeral work because there was lots of beer and whiskey at funerals (9, p. 15). This period was one of the few when jazz musicians were an integral and accepted part of their community. Alcohol traditionally leads to aggressive and loud behavior, and Dixieland jazz music is notably aggressive and loud.

A similar circular relationship might have begun to manifest itself in the 1920's in Kansas City, when jazz moved north. Not only in Kansas City, but also in Chicago and New York, into the 1930's and the swing era, the stimulant most frequently used by jazz musicians was marijuana. During this period jazz became less acceptable to the larger culture and the self-concept of many musicians grew more alienated. Marijuana was not a socially acceptable stimulant. Its traditional effect is to make the user feel more light and "swinging," which is an accurate description of much of the jazz music of the period. The increase in marijuana use was especially noticeable during the depression, when musicians felt even more unwanted because of sparse employment opportunities.

This complex interrelationship could perhaps be seen most clearly in the post-World War II period, when jazz became "bop" and seemed to become almost a coterie music. For the first time in jazz history, heroin, a drug the

very existence of which is illegal in the United States, became popular among musicians. The effect of heroin is to make the user withdrawn, detached and "cool", which is also a description of much of the jazz of the post-World War II period. The upsurge of heroin use followed a war, like a number of previous spurts in drug use.

In the last few years there has been a tendency for jazz to move away from the "cool" and toward a more "funky" (earthy) kind of expression. Jazz has also become more respectable, developing an apparatus of college courses, schools, journals and scholarly monographs. Clubs which serve malted milks are replacing the old gin mills, cellar clubs and after-hours spots.

Jazz clubs now probably have among the best behaved audiences of any night clubs, in contrast to some earlier audiences which have been described as being themselves under the influence of drugs (14, pp. 72-73). A psychiatric clinic (which was sponsored and financed by an element of the jazz industry) to treat addict musicians, was established in New York in 1957, and got a number of volunteer patients soon after it opened. Its very existence may have helped to make drug-taking less of a socially approved phenomenon. It is possible that some of these changes may tend to work in the direction of making drug use less of a social problem than it has been among jazz musicians, but there is no evidence, as yet, to suggest how these changes will affect the larger social forces, which seem to have been related to jazz musician drug use in the past.

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COMMENT ON THE "SCIENTIFIC ELITE AND THE ATOMIC BOMB"

To the Editor:

Having just read Robert Jungk's *Brighter than a Thousand Suns* (3), and a number of critical reviews (1; 2; 7) of this "personal history of the atomic scientists," compels me to make belated, but it is hoped, still timely comments on the article by Joan W. Moore and Burton M. Moore on "The Role of the Scientific Elite in the Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb" (5).

The Moores criticize Mills' use of the concept of the "pivotal moment" in *The Power Elite* (4) as an oversimplification and distortion of the political decision-making process. In order to make their point they cite evidence to show that the decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan depended on a number of other decisions which were made by those not members of Mills' "political elite," i.e. the atomic scientists, who were "outside of the institutional network Mills considers" (5, p. 78). Now it is obvious that the bomb could not have been produced and hence not dropped, without the cooperation of the scientists. Generals cannot make war without captains and privates. But the Moores tell us (5, p. 80) how the physicist Szilard enlisted the aid of the banker Alexander Sachs to impress upon President Roosevelt the military importance of nuclear fission in 1939. "Roosevelt was impressed and immediately appointed a three-man 'Uranium Committee' with representatives from the Army, the Navy, and a physicist from the Bureau of Standards." Could there be a more classic example of Mills' "pivotal" moment, involving decisions by the "power elite?" From this time on, nuclear scientists were inevitably drawn into the "institutional network," and it is one of Jungk's controversial theses that a process similar to Michels' "iron law of oligarchy" caused men like J. Robert Oppenheimer to support the decision to drop the atom bomb on Japan. Others, like Szilard, Franck and Weisskopf who opposed the decision, were not "power holders." The Moores emphasize the role of the Scientific Panel established to "advise" President Truman's Interim Committee which, in the words of Secretary of War Stimson, had the "responsibility to recommend action that may turn the course of civilization" (5, p. 83). But since the scientists on the Panel were in agreement with the "power elite" that it was necessary to drop the bomb, it seems impossible to reject Mills' thesis on the basis of these data, or any other adduced by the Moores.

A real test of the thesis would be possible only if there had been clear-cut disagreement between "autonomous" scientists and the decision-making elite.

Jungk asserts that such a disagreement existed in the case of the German nuclear scientists, and that they successfully prevented the building of an atomic bomb by the Nazi regime. Unfortunately the data are too unreliable to permit a test in this case as well. (For that matter, there are numerous problems of historical accuracy involved in determining the facts in the American developments. One needs only to recall the testimony in connection with the revocation of Oppenheimer's security clearance. See also (6) for less dramatic but perhaps even more illuminating instances.)

One quotation may serve to illustrate the attitudes and political role of many of the "co-opted" scientists. Robert R. Wilson, who was project director at Los Alamos during the war, reminisces as follows:

"We imagined a world of conventional weapons and conventional world politics where the military kept the atomic bomb a secret. The best thing that we could think of—and we were all in agreement—was that it was absolutely essential to finish the bomb before the meeting in San Francisco at which the United Nations was formed. Then, it was our hope, the new world organization would be able to deal with the atomic bomb from the beginning. We failed that rendezvous and there was no consideration given at San Francisco to nuclear energy."

I felt betrayed when the bomb was exploded over Japan without discussion or some peaceful demonstration of its power to the Japanese."

As the German expression has it, "sie haben die Rechnung ohne den Wirt gemacht." The general problems raised by the Moores are of course much more important than the "theoretical weakness" of Mills' conceptualization. What is of primary concern to political sociology and to the sociology of science in the present context is what the Moores refer to as "the addition of the 'scientific community' . . . to the power elite" (5, p. 85). It is ironic that the natural scientists appear to be more concerned, at least in print, with this cardinal problem of our time than are the sociologists. To be sure, the former are necessarily ego-involved, since they are *in medias res*, while sociologists are distinctly on the periphery of decision-making. But do social scientists have the moral right to stay on the sidelines when a responsible nuclear scientist is reduced to the melancholy conclusion that "the scientists must

preserve the precarious balance of armament which would make it disastrous for either side to start a war?" (1). This is the conclusion of Hans Bethe, who is described by Jungk as "the man who took it particularly hard when he was faced with the question whether the hydrogen bomb ought to be built" (3, p. 276).

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WALTER HIRSCH

Purdue University

REPLY TO HIRSCH

To the Editor:

A reply to Mr. Hirsch presents difficulties: he and we are talking about different things. We attempted to make two points in our case history: 1. there was a series of consciously political decisions, or pivotal moments, and not the one that Mills implies; 2. the membership of the decision-making group is not uniform, but both it and the processes of decision-making vary with the decision to be made.

We discuss political and other communication processes within a temporary seg-

ment of the "power elite," and are not concerned with whether Szilard et al. were or were not at one pivotal moment or another "power holders." (Hirsch suggests that they were *not* in the final democratic decision, which implies that anyone who loses a democratic fight is not a power holder. Perhaps so, but this formulation distorts some basic issues. In any case, they were "power holders"—even in this sense—in the initial political decision to create a bomb.) The minority opinion, that Szilard et al.—and presumably Robert Wilson—upheld, was exactly that—a minority opinion, within the consciously political and consciously democratic scientific community. It was defeated in the final vote of the scientists.

The question of German nuclear physicists and their government is clearly a factual one; to the dubious authority of Mr. Jungk we can only juxtapose that of Goudsmit, who was the first to contact German physicists. His account of their ignorance of the basic principles of the bomb is convincing, as is his account of their first reaction to the news of Hiroshima ["utter incredulity" (1, p. 134)] and the development of their rationale. In summary he states:

It is true that the German scientists were working on a uranium machine and not the bomb, *but it is true only because they failed to understand the difference between the machine and the bomb.* The bomb is what they were after (1, p. 139). (Emphasis in the original.)

Finally, although we may agree that it is deplorable that social scientists have remained aloof from these matters, our article was intended as a critique of Mills' pseudo-theory, and not of the morals of either nuclear physicists or sociologists.

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JOAN AND BURTON MOORE

University of Chicago

REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems held at the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, September 2-5, 1959.

Summary of the Minutes of the Meeting of the 1958-1959 (retiring) Executive Committee, 10:00 A.M., September 1, 1959, Alfred R. Lindesmith presiding.

Members Present: Alfred McClung Lee, Byron Fox, William L. Kolb, Marvin Sussman, Carolyn Zeleny, Olga Northwood, Erwin O. Smigel.

Members Absent: Richard A. Schermerhorn, Herbert A. Bloch, Jessie Bernard, Marshall B. Clinard, Joseph B. Gittler, Ira deA. Reid.

Others Present: Representing the Budget, Audit and Finance Committee: Ernest Shideler (Chairman), Simon Marcson.

1. At the request of the Committee, Alfred R. Lindesmith, President-Elect, agreed to serve as President during the coming year to fill the vacancy created by Herbert Bloch's resignation to accept an appointment to Celyon.

2. It was moved, seconded and passed that a letter be written by President Lindesmith to Arnold Rose asking him to see that SSSP receives reassurance that the system be reinstituted by which the Society and the Rural Sociological Society alternate in electing a delegate and an alternate to the International Sociological Association for three year periods.

3. The proposal that funds raised through the sale of back issues be allocated to the *Social Problems* account was approved.

4. It was proposed and approved that a special mimeographed sheet be mailed to the membership listing available back issues and special topic issues of *Social Problems*.

5. It was recommended and approved that the position of News Editor be eliminated.

6. It was moved, seconded and passed that (1) the President of the Society inform the editor of any forthcoming volume to be published by the Society of the terms of the contract, and (2) that any advance from the publisher, if made out to the editor, be handed over to the Treasurer with the understanding that the editor may draw upon these moneys to the limit of the advance without authorization from the President, but that he shall submit an account of his expenditures to the President.

7. It was moved, seconded and passed that the Executive Committee express its

appreciation for the magnificent way in which Erwin O. Smigel has taken over and carried on the journal, *Social Problems*.

8. It was moved, seconded and passed that the President communicate with absent members of the Executive Committee to inform them of the business which had been transacted.

9. It was moved, seconded and passed that the Executive Committee make up a ranked list from those who received a high number of votes on the primary ballot which the President would use to fill vacancies on the Executive Committee. A special meeting of the Committee was called for 8:00 P.M. to make up such a panel.

10. Meeting adjourned to allow the Committee to meet with the Incoming Executive Committee, and Committee on Permanent Organization to discuss the Freeman Proposal.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLYN ZELENY,

Secretary

Summary of the Minutes of the joint meeting of the retiring and incoming Executive Committees and the Committee on Permanent Organization, September 1, 1959.

Members of the Executive Committee present: Alfred R. Lindesmith, Byron Fox, Alfred McClung Lee, William L. Kolb, Marvin Sussman, Erwin O. Smigel, Carolyn Zeleny, Olga Northwood.

Members of the Executive Committees absent: Jessie Bernard, Herbert Bloch, Marshall Clinard, Joseph Gittler, Arnold M. Rose, Albert K. Cohen, Richard Schermerhorn.

Members of the Committee on Permanent Organization present: Howard Freeman (Chairman), Robert Boguslaw, Leo G. Reeder, Butler Jones.

Others present: Representing the Committee on Budget, Audit and Finance: Ernest Shideler (Chairman), Simon Marcson.

Alfred R. Lindesmith read the returns from the summer poll of the membership on the Freeman proposal. Sixty-two favored the proposal and another 27 approved of it with qualifications. Forty-seven opposed the proposal and another 16 opposed it with qualifications. Since this poll indicated a deep division on the issue he proposed that the measure be tabled for a year and no definite decision be made at the present time.

Alfred McClung Lee took a strong stand

against the Freeman proposal. He read a letter from Everett Hughes which pointed out the importance to the development of sociology of maintaining SSSP as a strong independent organization.

Howard Freeman, author of the proposal, presented some of his reasons for thinking that SSSP should make application to become a section of ASA.

In answer to requests for information concerning the significance of section status, Freeman stated that as a section SSSP would be a legitimate part of the ASA. Section members must also be members of ASA but there are no highly restrictive requirements for section membership. Student and associate members, as well as Fellows and Active members of the ASA may be section members. No specific requirements for dues have been set up for sections other than that \$1.00 from each member's fees must go to the ASA.

Byron Fox, summarizing the discussion, stressed the fact that the arguments for joining the ASA were negative ones, such as the fear that SSSP would be undermined by ASA sections. However, there appeared to be positive values in remaining independent, such as maintaining a distinctive orientation, putting on competing programs and providing opportunities for younger sociologists.

William L. Kolb suggested that in view of the many obstacles and disadvantages connected with section status, some alternative action might well be considered, such as closer collaboration with the Society for Applied Anthropology and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. He proposed that this joint meeting recommend to the new Executive Committee that it explore the possibility of forming a federation of some kind with these societies.

Alfred McClung Lee then moved (1) that the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization be received and made available to the new Committee on Permanent Organization and the new Executive Committee, and (2) that the President, the Executive Committee and the Committee on Permanent Organization be instructed to reopen negotiations for joint programs and possible joint meetings with SPSS and SAA. The motion was passed.

The meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLYN ZELENY,

Secretary

Summary of the Minutes of the meeting of the (incoming) Executive Committee, 8:00 P.M., September

1, 1959, Alfred R. Lindesmith, presiding.

Members Present: Alfred R. Lindesmith, Alfred M. Lee, William L. Kolb, Rex Hopper, Erwin O. Smigel, Carolyn Zeleny, Olga Northwood.

Members Absent: Everett C. Hughes, Joseph Gittler, W. F. Cottrell, Marshall Clinard, Arnold M. Rose, Richard Schermerhorn.

1. The appointment of Howard Freeman as Associate Editor of *Social Problems* was approved.

2. A letter from the Federal Bar Association inquiring whether any members of SSSP would be interested in participating in joint research on legal problems was turned over to Erwin O. Smigel for further investigation.

3. A projected book on occupational sociology which was submitted to the Committee in outline form was provisionally rejected as an SSSP-sponsored publication because it did not fall sufficiently within the social problems field.

4. The resignation of Carolyn Zeleny as Secretary was accepted, with thanks for her services during two years in office.

5. The appointment of Rose Hum Lee as Secretary was unanimously approved.

6. It was moved, seconded and passed that the offices of Treasurer and Business Manager be recombined in the interest of economy and efficiency. The appointment of George Psathas to the combined positions was approved.

7. It was moved, seconded and passed that individuals who had served as either Treasurer or Secretary for five years be granted Life Membership in the Society.

8. The Secretary was instructed to write a letter to Sidney Aronson informing him that he had been granted a Life Membership on the basis of having served for five years as Treasurer.

9. From the names of individuals who had received enough votes to appear on the final ballot for members of the incoming Executive Committee at the last elections, Marvin Sussman was appointed to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Herbert Bloch.

10. Two other names were approved on the same basis for any further appointments to the Executive Committee which the President might find advisable.

11. Names of persons to be considered for appointment as Committee members and chairmen for the year 1959-60 were suggested and approved.

12. The Elections Committee was in-

structed to see that both a President and a President-Elect be elected in the coming elections, since Alfred R. Lindesmith, who would have served as President in 1960-61 was taking office for the coming year. It was recommended that the Elections Committee start elections procedure earlier than usual this year in view of the special situation.

Committee adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLYN ZELNY,

Retiring Secretary

Summary of Minutes of the meeting of the (incoming) Executive Committee, 8:30 A.M., September 2, 1959, Alfred R. Lindesmith, presiding.

Members present: Albert K. Cohen, Byron Fox, Everett C. Hughes, William L. Kilb, Alfred M. Lee, Rex Hopper, Rose Hum Lee, Erwin O. Smigel.

Members absent: Marshall Clinard, W. F. Cottrell, Arnold M. Rose, Richard Schermerhorn.

Others present: Ernest Shideler, Simon Marcson, Carolyn Zeleny, Olga Northwood.

1. The recommendation of the Joint Meeting of the preceding day that efforts be made to establish closer relations with the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and the Society for Applied Anthropology was approved.

2. A motion was made and passed that, in view of this new program, the Committee on Liaison with Other Organizations be merged with the Committee on Permanent Organization.

3. The recombining of the offices of Treasurer and Business Manager, passed by the preliminary meeting the evening before, was approved by the fuller committee.

4. Carolyn Zeleny suggested that the position of Secretary be returned to an elective position in order to smooth the procedures. She pointed out that this had been recommended by the Chairman of the Elections Committee this year. It was deemed advisable to give the new appointive system a longer try-out before turning this suggestion over to the Committee on Permanent Organization.

5. Rose Hum Lee accepted the appointment as Secretary, and received the hearty applause of the Committee.

6. Final discussion of the report of the Budget, Audit and Finance Committee was postponed until the following day at the

suggestion of Ernest Shideler, so as to permit this Committee to meet with the Treasurer and the Business Manager of *Social Problems* to complete the analysis of the accounts and clear up the complications which had arisen.

The Committee adjourned to reconvene the next day to discuss the budget.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLYN ZELNY,

Retiring Secretary

Summary of the Minutes of the Actions taken at the meeting of the Executive Committee, 4:30 P.M., September 4, 1959, Alfred R. Lindesmith, presiding.

Members Present: Alfred R. Lindesmith, Marvin B. Sussman, W. F. Cottrell, Alfred McClung Lee, William L. Kolb, Albert K. Cohen, George Psathas, Erwin O. Smigel, Carolyn Zeleny, Olga Northwood, Rose Hum Lee.

Others Present: Ernest Shideler.

1. It was moved, seconded and passed that withdrawals from the \$100 set up for "Standing and Special Committees" be authorized by the President before expenditures are made.

2. It was moved, seconded and passed that the *Social Problems* subscription rates for ASA members be raised to \$3.75 and to \$4.25 for non-members.

3. It was agreed that the \$1,000 to be advanced by John Wiley & Sons to Messrs. Snyder and Pittman be set aside as a "special fund," from which the authors may draw amounts, with the President's approval and authorization, but that an itemized statement of expenditures be submitted to SSSP's Editorial and Publications' Committee and to the Business Manager.

4. It was recommended that the President write a letter to the management of Edgewater Beach Hotel, indicating our satisfaction that the matter of seeming segregation of Negro participants had been tactfully handled.

As a safeguard, contracts with hotels wherein future meetings are held should contain in them a clause stipulating the assignment of rooms on a "first come, first served" basis.

5. It was recommended that if financial emergencies, or new needs arise, the members of the Executive Committee be contacted for approval of such unpredictable expenditures. This would apply to publishing five issues of the Journal, *Social Problems*, for example, as well as to plans

for promotion of SSSP in an effort to increase its membership.

6. The proposed budget for 1959-60 was considered item by item, revised at a number of points, and approved.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLYN ZELENY, *Retiring Secretary*
ROSE HUM LEE, *Incoming Secretary*

Summary of the Minutes of the Business Meeting, 4:30 P. M., September 2, 1959, Alfred R. Lindesmith, presiding.

Alfred R. Lindesmith informed the membership that at the request of the Executive Committee he had agreed to serve his term as President during the coming year (rather than the following one) in order to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Herbert Bloch who had been drafted by the State Department to head a mission to Ceylon.

He announced that Rose Hum Lee had accepted the appointment as Secretary of the Society to take office immediately.

He also announced that the positions of Treasurer and Business Manager had been merged once more by vote of the Executive Committee, and that George Psathas had been appointed to serve in both capacities.

The Report of the Secretary, which showed steady net gains in the membership of the Society with a total of 711 members and individual subscribers (exclusive of institutional subscriptions to *Social Problems*) was read and accepted.

The Report of the Elections Committee, Leonard Moss, Chairman, was read and accepted.

The Report of the Coordinator of the Special Problems Committees, Warren Breed, Chairman, was read by the Secretary and accepted.

The Secretary suggested that it might not be necessary to make another complete canvas of the membership again this year for their choice of Special Problem Committees, since the committees had been re-organized last Spring. No objection was raised to this suggestion, but a recommendation from the floor that all new members who had joined since last March be polled was approved, and the Secretary was instructed to send such members a questionnaire.

The Report of the Committee on Budget, Audit and Finance: Ernest Shideler, Chairman, announced that he would not present his committee's report at the present meeting, because some further work was necessary before a final report could be made.

The completed report will be published along with the reports of the other committees in a forthcoming issue of *Social Problems*.

The Report of the Local Arrangements Committee was presented by Rose Hum Lee, Chairman, who noted that a total of 109 members had registered at the current meetings. The report was accepted with thanks for the fine work done by the committee.

No reports were presented at the meetings by the New Projects Committee, the Committee on Promotion and Publicity, the Committee on Standards and Freedom in Research, Publication and Teaching, the Membership Committee or the Editorial and Publications Committee.

Butler Jones brought to the attention of the meeting the possibility that a form of segregation had been practised by the hotel where the meetings were being held, in that the hotel had assigned all of the Negro members of SSSP rooms fairly close to one another on the second floor of the Tower. A motion was made by Robert Boguslaw that the Local Arrangements Committee of our Society meet with the Chairmen of the Local Arrangements Committees of the other societies meeting in the hotel, report our findings to them and check on their situation, then report back the total findings to our Executive Committee which should be empowered to take appropriate action with the hotel. The motion was passed.

Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, Howard Freeman, Chairman, recommending that the SSSP make application to become a Section of the American Sociological Association was received.

Alfred Lindesmith presented a summary of the returns of the special poll of membership opinion concerning the advisability of seeking Section status on the terms set forth in the so-called Freeman Proposal: Of the 152 replies received:

- 62 declared themselves in favor
- 47 declared themselves opposed
- 23 were in favor with qualifications
- 16 were opposed with qualifications

He pointed out that this poll made it clear that although a larger number of members favored seeking Section status than were opposed to it, many people favoring the proposal had qualifications to their stand, and that many individuals were confused as to the actual implications of the step for the Society.

He reported that the Executive Committees had discussed the recommendation of the Committee and the results of the poll, and had decided that with so many issues

still unclear and with so deep a division of opinion among the members, it would be wiser to take no action at the present time. It had been moved that the Freeman Report be passed on to the new Committee on Permanent Organization for further study of the issue, and that during the coming year closer affiliation be sought with the Society for the Study of Psychological Issues and the Society for Applied Anthropology.

Requests were made from the floor for some clearer statement as to why the Committee recommendation had not been accepted. Alfred Lindesmith cited among others the following objections raised by members replying to the poll: the proposed reorganization would exclude non-sociologists from membership, and collaboration with other specialists had been one of the goals for which SSSP had been founded. A number of people said they would drop out of the Society if it became a Section of ASA. Anxiety lest the Society in some way lose its autonomy if it became a Section of ASA was widely expressed.

Rex Hopper, Representative to the Council of the American Sociological Association, then expressed his conviction that it would not be wise at the present time for the SSSP to apply for section status. At the time of the Seattle meetings last year the prospect of the Council taking favorable action on such an application seemed hopeful. This was no longer true. The present ruling of the Council is to the effect that it would be inappropriate for any organization to apply to become a Section.

(See: OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS, (ASA), Secretary's Report, reprint from the *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 6, December, 1959, distributed at the Chicago meetings.

"(c) — Applications for Section status from organizations or affiliated societies, as such, are inappropriate under the existing By-Laws")

A key problem, Rex Hopper declared, then was whether or not this stand would remain unchanged.

From the floor came continuing requests that on an issue as important as this, the membership not be by-passed, and that a full report be given on the deliberations which led to rejection of the Freeman Proposal. The membership had been asked to express opinions on the issue; a large number had favored it. If action was not to be taken, items of information should be presented clarifying the situation. The question was asked: What is the function of

this meeting in relation to the permanent organization of the Society?

In answer, Alfred McClung Lee pointed out that neither the Society nor the Executive Committee was in a position to formulate all sides of the issue right now. There were too many uncertainties to make a well-reasoned decision possible.

Alfred R. Lindesmith stated that the poll of members had been an effort to determine in a preliminary way the drift of opinion in the Society, rather than a vote on decisive action. He ventured that many members who at the time they wrote had been in favor of the step, might now that they were better informed on many of the issues, be undecided or wish to reverse their stand. A show of hands showed that this was true.

Lindesmith said it is important to consider the purposes for which the Society was established and to appraise the way in which the prospective action might affect each of these purposes. He said that a more detailed statement of the deliberations of the Executive Committee would be mailed out by the Secretary or published in *Social Problems*.

William L. Kolb, as a member of the Executive Committee, assured the members at the meeting that there had been no attempt to by-pass the membership on the part of the Executive Committee. It had been decided that, in view of the many obstacles and problems involved in Section status in ASA, some alternative action would be advisable for the present, and for this reason a decision had been made to draw into close affiliation with SSPI and the SAA.

Lawrence Northwood asked for a strong statement from someone who was in favor of the Freeman Proposal, saying that all the spokesmen at the present meeting had been against it, tending to present a somewhat one-sided discussion.

Howard Freeman then summed up some of the reasons why he believed the step would be a highly positive one. By becoming a Section, SSSP could develop a broader-based and larger membership, he said. Some special sections are being formed in ASA for areas we have considered our domain. With sessions being offered by both societies, it is becoming difficult to decide what sessions to attend even in one's own specialized field. He expressed the belief that the question should not be disposed of on the grounds of this being an inappropriate time to make application. We should find out what terms the ASA demands and what the advantages and disadvantages of joining might be.

A motion was then made that the incoming Committee on Permanent Organization be instructed to prepare a statement listing the arguments pro and con SSSP's becoming a Section of the ASA, including the possible effect of such a step on the goals for which SSSP was established. *The motion was passed.*

Rex Hopper, ASA Council Representative, stressed the tentative state of mind of ASA itself in regard to Section formation. He said that the Council was not of one mind as to the desirability of establishing sections, nor as to what the role of the section chairman should be. Even if we were accepted as a section there is nothing to preclude other special sections being set up which might undermine our attendance, he emphasized.

A motion was made that the thanks of the Society be expressed to Howard Freeman for his hard work and vigorous approach as Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, for his Report, and for the stimulation it had furnished toward constructive action of some kind. *The motion was passed.*

Another resolution thanking Butler Jones for the work he had done as the Chairman of the Program Committee, and commending him for an exceptionally successful program was presented. *Approved.*

A resolution was presented by Mabel Elliott thanking Carolyn Zeleny, retiring Secretary, for her services in this office for the last two years, and approved by a standing ovation.

Meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLYN ZELNY,
Retiring Secretary

EDITOR'S REPORT

Your editor officially assumed that position in September, 1958. The problem of transferring the Journal was eased with the good help of the previous editor Jerome Himelhoch. Further assistance was obtained from an excellent, hard working, enthusiastic, acute, never complaining staff of associate editors, plus the special aid of Sheldon Stryker, who was more than a right-hand man. In addition, Indiana University provided a half time secretary and the sociologists there were always willing to lend a hand in an emergency.

Manuscripts, with the names of the authors removed, were sent to at least two staff readers. Occasionally when specialized advice, not available from the

Editorial Board, was needed, outside referees were called upon. We received, in all, 124 manuscripts, 42 more than last year. Thirty-one of these papers were published. (In addition, five more articles were printed in the four issues of the Journal for which the present staff is responsible; these, however, are not tabulated in the above figures since they were more or less inherited.) Seventeen are being processed. Sixty-five per cent of the manuscripts received were rejected, many as not being appropriate for our Journal. The authors whose papers were rejected, as well as those whose papers had been conditionally accepted (and this was true for most articles eventually published) received editorial critiques. It was a pleasant surprise to find that these comments, though stringent, were often appreciated by the authors.

We have tried to select only those manuscripts which could be labeled social problems articles. This is a difficult task and one at which we have not been entirely successful. Suggestions on this score are most welcome.

Articles on war and peace and other international problems are still slow in finding their way to our Journal, although we have invited them. As we have manuscripts on applied aspects of social problems and those evaluating our basic institutions, we hope to find greater success in these areas. A new department called, "Problems of Tomorrow" has been inaugurated and a special issue on Law and Social Problems was published. Other special issues are being planned; one on Social Problems in the Soviet Union is now in active preparation. The cover of the Journal has been changed, and if the protests are not too strong we will keep it as it is for the next two years.

A number of problems remain. Some we shall work on this coming year and can use your aid. We expect to start a campaign to add more libraries to our list of subscribers. It would help if you checked to see if your own college library orders SOCIAL PROBLEMS. Despite the 51 per cent increase in the number of manuscripts received this year, we still need more articles. Our most serious problem is the lack of a significant backlog of acceptable papers. Any aid in recruiting high caliber appropriate manuscripts would be a service to SOCIAL PROBLEMS and would also be greatly appreciated by your editor.

Respectfully submitted,
ERWIN O. SMIGEL

COMMITTEE REPORTS

COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Verne Wright, *Chairman*

Two business meetings were held at the Chicago convention with Verne Wright (University of Pittsburgh) as the new chairman. Roland L. Warren (New York State Charities Aid Association) is the vice-chairman and chairman-elect.

Plans for the 1960 meetings in New York include two sessions on the Sociology of Community Development with Dr. Warren reading a major paper at the first session on "What Theory for Successful Community Development?" The second session will include papers on case studies which summarize and generalize on "Planned Developments" for two metropolitan communities.

The Committee established a group project to begin at once on "Sociology and the Sociologist in Community Development." Members of SSSP who would like to work on this project are invited to communicate with the chairman of the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS THEORY

Arnold M. Rose, *Chairman*

The Committee decided to transform itself from a standing committee of former presidents of the Society into a special problems committee open to all interested members of the Society. Accordingly, a notice was sent out to invite any SSSP member to join the committee by communicating with its chairman.

A letter was sent to members and potential members soliciting suggestions as to the best means of implementing the committee's purpose of stimulating better theory to guide research in social problems. The major suggestion that emerged from a large number of the replies was that a book be developed, consisting of both original and already published contributions, expounding, extrapolating and demonstrating Symbolic Interactionist theory as it might be used in research on social problems. A second circular letter led to the decision that plans for such a book be developed under the editorship of the chairman. All persons interested in contributing to such a volume are invited to communicate their ideas to the chairman or to the secretary

of the committee — Dr. Irwin Deutscher, Community Studies, 724 Railway Exchange Building, Kansas City 6, Missouri.

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Arnold M. Rose, *Representative*

The SSSP Representative to ISA contributed to plans for the Fourth World Sociological Congress, to be held September 8-15, 1959, in Milan-Stresa, Italy, by providing information leading to the selection of a site for the Congress. The Representative will also serve as chairman of the section on the Sociology of Mental Health and Mental Disorder at the Congress, and as Observer for ISA at a meeting of the World Federation of Mental Health in Barcelona, Spain, August 30-September 4, 1959.

The three-year term of the Representative expires this year. Instead of calling for the election of a new Representative, the President of SSSP agreed with the President of the American Sociological Society that the latter should name an SSSP member as Representative and second American Delegate to ISA. Accordingly, Herbert Blumer was named to the position.

THE COMMITTEE ON MENTAL HEALTH

Joseph W. Eaton, *Chairman*

The Committee had a lively round-table discussion at Chicago on *on-going research*, under the chairmanship of Leo G. Reeder. Among those reporting on their work were H. Ashley Weeks of the University of Michigan, School of Public Health, Louis Howe of the Harvard School of Public Health, Marvin Sussman of Western Reserve University, Howard Freeman of Harvard University, Olive Stone of the University of California, School of Social Welfare and Leo G. Reeder, of the Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health, both at the University of California, Los Angeles.

THE SPECIAL PROBLEM COMMITTEE ON ALCOHOLISM

David J. Pittman, *Chairman*

1. The committee was engaged in two major activities. It sponsored a panel discussion on "New Perspectives on Research in Drinking Behavior" at the an-

nual meetings of the Society in Chicago in September. The panel participants were: Joan McCord of Stanford, H. M. Trice of Cornell, and Charles Snyder of Yale. The moderator for the panel discussion was David J. Pittman of the Washington University School of Medicine. Approximately 30 members and guests of the Society attended this particular session and it is hoped that other programs along this line will be held at future conventions.

2. Two members of the Alcoholism Committee, D. J. Pittman and C. Snyder, are engaged in editing a forthcoming volume, *Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns*, which originated from this Special Problems Committee. This volume will collate the best of sociological and anthropological research in the field of drinking behavior in general and alcoholism in particular. A large number of the members of the committee are contributors to this particular volume which relies heavily upon original articles. This volume is scheduled for publication by John Wiley and Sons in late 1960 or early 1961.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FROM OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE, INC.: In June of 1960 an American Seminar of limited membership made up of ministers, professors, doctors, businessmen and others will leave for Europe and the Near East for a study of the people and their problems. The itinerary includes: Sweden, Finland, Russia, Turkestan, Turkey, the Arab States, Israel, France and England. At all points the group will meet with government and religious leaders. The trip by ship from New York will start June 11 and return August 9 and the cost will be \$1,795; by air (from New York to New York (June 20-Aug. 3) will cost \$1,895.

For pamphlets giving full particulars of the trip write to Dr. Jerome Davis, 489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Conn., or to Dr. Henlee Barnette, 55 Sacramento Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

THE JEWISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY — *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* is a new international Journal devoted to the sociology of the Jews. The Journal will appear twice a year. Sub-

scriptions should be addressed to the Managing Editor at 55 New Cavendish Street, London, W.1., England.

The SOCIETY FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF SEX will publish a new journal, *The Journal of Sexual Research*. The first issue will appear early in 1960. The journal is to include original articles, reviews of the literature, book reviews, and abstracts covering the range of all the learned disciplines pertinent to the study of sex. Papers should be submitted to Dr. Hugo G. Beigel, 138 East 94th Street, New York 28, New York.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A Conference on "The Strategy of Desegregation" was held under the auspices of the Society for the Study of Social Problems in New York City May 22-24, 1959. There were participants from action agencies as well as from universities; they represented the South as well as the North. Strategies in research as well as in action programs were discussed.

So far as action strategies were concerned there was consensus: that there must be no let-up in pressures; that it was important to continue to let the southern community see itself reflected in the mass media of the outside world; that even if the extremist did not achieve his goal, he at least served as a background making more moderate parties more palatable to opponents. With respect to research strategies, it was emphasized that studies of local situations must be continued, but that results could not be over-generalized. The Deep South is not the same as the Border South and lessons learned in the latter were not always transferable to the former. The Hunter model of the local community power structure, it was felt, was not adequate for larger communities where outside power was important also.

ANNUAL MEETING: The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems is being planned around the theme: "WORK AND LEISURE". Anyone wishing to submit a paper within the framework of one of the Social Problems areas should contact, by March 15th, 1960, either the chairman of the relevant Social Problems Committee or the program chairman for the annual meeting, Hans O. Mauksch, Presbyterian-St. Luke's Hospital, Chicago, Illinois.

BOOK REVIEWS

Essays on the Welfare State. By Richard Titmuss. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959. 232 pp. \$3.50.

It is probably impossible for any volume of collected essays (a euphemism for previously prepared heterogeneous articles and lectures) to achieve a level of brilliance. However, I found these essays as close to this mark as any I have yet encountered. The ten essays contained in this book can be roughly divided into two groups. The first group of seven considers some pervasive features of the social services in England. The second group of three (the Yale Sherill Lectures) deal with the National Health Service.

In his survey of the social services, Prof. Titmuss develops a distinctive position. The major elements of this point of view are: (1) that the social services are an integral and pervasive feature of any industrial society; (2) and thus, such services exist in myriad forms, e.g. taxation policies and programs, occupational privileges that are socially sanctioned and subsidized, etc.; (3) that the visible public agencies are often a minority of all socially subsidized services; (4) that the needs and dependencies of a society sensitively reflect its culture and thus the kind and rapidity of social change; and (5) that the administrators of the social services are often the last to recognize these factors.

From this vantage point, the author is able to document a number of "surprising" characteristics of the social services. Those that stand out are: (1) many of the social services increasingly favor the wealthier taxpayer and operate as "concealed multipliers of occupational success" (p. 52); (2) that the so-called aging "problem" is actually the gradual emergence of a more balanced age structure as a consequence of the increasing equality of lower class with middle and upper class life expectancy; (3) that pension schemes in England are heavily weighted in favor of the poor paying for the rich and that private pension schemes actually cost the government more than public schemes even though they are hailed for their husbanding of public funds; (4) that the actuarial and/or self-liquidating philosophy of social services often makes little sense and is frequently quite discriminatory. Only space prohibits a much longer list.

I have found the description and analysis of the National Health Service equally stimulating. It turns out that under the N. H. S. doctors have prospered as a result of levelling up, they have been given amazing (and to me frightening) guarantees of professional and clinical freedom, and they

can do much more for their patients than ever before. Equally important, the N.H.S. has not resulted in either an increase in the number of spurious service items demanded by patients or any noticeable decrease in the quality of treatment.

Prof. Titmuss is quite aware of the many problems facing the medical profession, foremost among them being the increasingly ambiguous role of the general practitioner. However, he makes a most convincing case for assigning most of these problems to the scientific revolution in medicine and the profession's own lack of flexibility and perhaps conscience. Moreover, he feels that though the N. H. S. has been made the scapegoat by the medical profession, it has actually operated to ameliorate many of the problems.

It is important to stress Titmuss's consistent and insightful use of sociological theory in these essays. This book is a heartening example of the illuminating value of theory for policy considerations. I have failed to discuss a stimulating essay on war and society, and two somewhat more pedestrian essays on the role of women and the family. Also, I found Prof. Titmuss's ambivalence toward professional specialization annoying at times. Nevertheless, it should be clear that I consider this an excellent book and heartily recommend it to all.

ARNOLD S. FELDMAN

Princeton University

The Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behavior. By Herbert Bloch and Arthur Niederhoffer. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958. 231 pp. \$6.00.

Hooliganism and gang behavior seem to defy national boundaries. In fact a United Nations committee recently labelled juvenile delinquency "a world disease." Has this disease spread through cultural diffusion or is youth rebellion inevitable in any society? It is the thesis of this book that the gang satisfies "deep-seated needs experienced by adolescents in all cultures." The authors feel that the striving for adulthood, for manhood, may be "a universal psychodynamic pattern during the adolescent stage which is present in all cultures but which may assume a wide variety of expressive forms." Professor Bloch and Lieutenant Niederhoffer are justifiably intrigued by contemporary gang behavior which seems to parallel puberty rite practices in primitive societies. Such practices as scarification, taking on of new names, seclusion from women, and the ordeal feature significantly in the behavior of the modern gang. Yet the interesting attempt to develop this analogy, point by point,

seems at times a bit forced and the main contention, that delinquency evolves out of the adolescent's invariable need to "become a man," is not fully substantiated. The attempt to argue around the findings of Margaret Mead and others, that adolescence need not be a period of turbulence, does not convince this reviewer at least.

Bloch and Niederhoffer attempt a general explanation of gang behavior. But can the psychodynamics of adolescence provide a focal point from which to build a sociologically meaningful explanation? A theory which stresses the learning process provides a scheme within which qualitative and quantitative group variations in delinquent behavior may be considered. The theory set forth here, with its reductionist emphasis on the invariant urgencies of adolescence, does not seem to afford much leeway for the explanation of such variations. Robert Merton and Albert Cohen have stressed the key role of the class system in shaping American delinquency. Bloch and Niederhoffer do not deal adequately with this matter. They are well aware of the special pressures of modern American life, but their approach largely ignores the extent to which position in the class structure may determine a person's reaction to such pressures. They consider it a mistake to make working-class delinquency the major object of analysis; the "need to be a man . . . cuts across class lines and can be considered the cultural imperative of gang behavior."

In line with their emphasis on psychic release (on what Lewis Coser has termed "nonrealistic" as contrasted to "realistic" conflict), the authors claim that Cohen places too much emphasis on working-class antagonism towards the middle-class. The lower-class gang, it is suggested here, has no special target or enemy; in fact, according to this view, the lower-class gang essentially is not much different from other kinds of gangs. There is little treatment in this book of the role "not getting the breaks" may play in driving adolescents into delinquency. This is due partly to an extremely optimistic assessment of the current stratification and mobility situation in America, an appraisal which not all sociologists may be willing to share.

Despite these possible shortcomings, *The Gang* is a useful contribution to the literature on delinquency. The authors provide an interesting description and analysis of a city gang, with suggestive comments about power and leadership. Unfortunately the authors' concluding proposal, that adolescents be given "political representation and opportunity for civic responsibility," does not seem a very forceful one. Even Bloch

and Niederhoffer admit its weakness, quoting a political analyst to the effect that, "Not everything is soluble. Not everything can be controlled. Some things have to be lived with. . . ." Such may be the blind alley into which one inevitably is driven if one takes the universal psychic factors approach adopted in this book.

EDWIN M. SCHUR

Wellesley College

Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior. By F. Ivan Nye. New York: John Wiley and Sons; London: Chapman and Hall, 1958. xii, 168 pp. \$4.95.

The delinquent behavior reported on in this study is that behavior which high school students will admit to in one of a series of anonymous questionnaires.

The questionnaire on delinquent behavior consisted of twenty-three items which covered conduct that could well come within the usual delinquency statute. Respondents were invited to check the blanks showing whether they had ever committed the act and, if so, how often. The remaining questionnaires were aimed at family composition, occupation, child's perception of the parent, discipline, and many other matters.

The questionnaires were administered to about 780 students. This group comprised a random "25 per cent sample of all boys and girls in grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 in three medium-size Washington towns (10,000 to 30,000) who were in school on the day data were collected" (p. 17).

The findings of the study are set out in 14 chapters. The "Most Delinquent" group is compared with the "Least Delinquent" group for many types and areas of family relationships. The effort throughout is to test the statistical association between a given aspect of family life (e.g., extent of father's rejection) and delinquent behavior. In the preponderant number of instances, the association is what non-statistical devices have long taught: i.e., the more accepting, regularized, dependable, and realistic these relationships, the less delinquency and vice versa. The value of the study, therefore, appears to lie in the support which statistical measurements give to ideas on this subject which have been derived previously from non-statistical evidence.

The chief doubt one might have about the report is whether it says anything about delinquent behavior. Do the private confessions of high school students, no matter how carefully obtained or earnestly given, constitute the basis for a lay judgment of delinquent behavior? This is a serious question. It is not answered by making sure a polling instrument is reliable

nor by testing the statistical significance of the different scores which it yields. The issue is not one of polling, nor of how widely distributed a destructive pattern of behavior is. The issue is one of jurisprudence—and there is no ventilation of this in the book. The author rejects the idea of using an institutional or other officially delinquent population for part of his sample and uses the general school population of three doubtfully representative communities instead. It is his view that the officially delinquent population is too burgeoned with the consequences of being handled as delinquents to allow family relationships to stand out uncluttered. The chosen general school population, he feels, is free of this extra crust and is probably just as delinquent as the other.

Many sober scholars have said the same thing but it is always a precarious position to take. It is a little like saying there is no difference between priest and penitent—both are sinners. This introduces a great number of questions about who delinquents are and what delinquent behavior is. None of these are raised by the author, but all of them are resolved in favor of what seems to be a frank and arbitrary preference for the selected general school population without an adequate review of why the official machinery for adjudicating delinquent behavior can be ignored in this instance, or its results dismissed as unsatisfactory.

Still there is much of interest in the report on other counts. Delinquent (sic) behavior is found to have no class links. Sibling ordinal position has a bearing on the incidence. Ungovernability is associated with the broken home, but problem behavior is less in the broken home than in the unhappy home which is not broken. Children from homes where the mother is employed admit to more offenses than children whose mothers are not, but the association is slight. There is an association between spatial mobility and admitted misconduct, but this association decreases when such factors as class status and degree of family integration are considered. The amount of affection the child feels for the parent influences the functioning of indirect controls, whereas the effectiveness of direct controls seems not to be influenced by affection. The more spending money the more youthful misbehavior, or rather the more frequently do youths say they misbehave, and thus there arises a woeful problem for those concerned with the transmission of conventional economic values. There are interesting observations about the connection between felt misconduct and the felt competence of one's parents to advise on such matters as dating,

occupational choice, religion, and the like.

Few of the associations between aspects of family life and the troubled behavior of children reported upon here are new or provocative. Most of them are quite familiar. The book is therefore essentially an exercise in statistical proof. Whether that proof is adequate will interest the statistician. Whether it has any bearing on delinquency is doubtful.

T. C. ESSELSTYN

San Jose State College

REPLY TO ESSELSTYN'S REVIEW

First, I want to express my appreciation to Dr. Esselstyn and *Social Problems* for the opportunity to discuss his comments.

There is one error of fact in this review; namely that this research tests the hypothesis that paternal rejection causes delinquency. Rather, I have presented the idea that the attitudes of adolescents toward parents and parental behavior determine the extent of indirect social control that parents can exercise. This is a departure from the traditional idea. Data are presented showing a higher correlation between the attitude of the adolescent toward the parent and delinquent behavior rather than to support the traditional position concerning paternal rejection.

The reviewer states that the chief issue is whether a lay person can determine who of these adolescents in a legal sense would be judged "delinquent." If one cannot, he feels the research is irrelevant. The desire to avoid the judgment of jurists, police officers, family members and neighbors was the basis for taking the acts of adolescents rather than institutionalization as the criterion. The selective factors in institutional commitment of socio-economic level, racial and ethnic status, family structure and others are too well-known to require discussion. To the extent that research can by-pass these biases, it seems that it should. (It isn't possible, of course, in research dealing with murder and some of the other most serious crimes.) To object that this procedure places all of us at different points on a single dimension may make us uncomfortable, but such discomfort must be borne if we are to develop a more adequate science.

IVAN NYE

Washington State University

An Experiment in Mental Patient Rehabilitation. By Henry J. Meyer and Edgar F. Borgatta. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1959. 114 pp. \$2.50.

Altro Health and Rehabilitation Services, Inc. has for some years operated a program of post hospitalization aid to tuberculosis

and cardiac patients. The question to which the evaluation study under review was addressed was, "How effective will Altro's program be if it is extended to post-hospitalized *mental* patients?" The study sought a sample representative of mental patients the program was aimed at reaching. This sample the investigators intended to divide into Experimental and Control groups in order to determine the effect of receiving Altro's program. The attrition rate was enormous: during the first six months six out of 116 possible cases entered the program; in the two years of the study, after screening out disinterested eligible persons, only 41 cases were referred at all, with a mere 12 cases actually entering the Altro program. Thus the investigators were compelled to resort to considerable ingenuity to save the study.

To describe the 41 patients referred to Altro, a factor analysis of 36 heterogeneous background variables is presented. However, since the eight factors extracted are only sketchily interpreted, and in any case no attempt is made to relate them to the effect of the program on those referrals who entered the program, the factor analysis has limited usefulness. Next, the "referral" and "control" cases are examined to determine the effect of Altro on readmission to a mental hospital. The readmission rate for "controls" is 38 per cent as compared with 24 per cent for "referrals," a non-significant difference. There were no differences between the two groups with respect to employment status, nor were there, either at initial testing or follow up, any significant differences on a sentence completion test, unspecified as to purpose but presumably designed to measure psychological changes. The authors, who throughout the report exhibit a degree of courage under fire which is worthy of mention, are led to conclude: "One would hardly make a strong claim for the impact of this type of program on the rehabilitation of post-hospitalized schizophrenic patients but some positive claims cannot be denied" (p. 101).

However, it is somewhat difficult to say how these figures are to be interpreted, since the "referral" group includes 15 persons who never even made contact with Altro, six others who had only one contact before refusing the program, and eight others who took between two and five contacts before refusing; only the remaining twelve persons completed the intake and accepted the program (p. 42). In view of the fact that contact activity was defined as including telephone interviews, it is clear that most of the "referral" sample had either no contact at all, or very minimal

contact. There is no apparent reason why these persons should differ from the 40 persons selected as controls. The observation that they indeed do not differ tells the reader little.

To the sociologist the interesting aspect of the study is the high drop-out rate in all phases of sampling and program operations. This is not the first evaluation study which discovers that after carefully selecting persons to be either recipients of an ostensibly needed service or be assigned to a control group, the intended recipients stay away in droves. It is often assumed by service agencies that since a problem exists, a service need also exists and is perceived as such by those in need. But, as the authors point out, "the definition of the situation is evidently different when viewed by persons to whom the program is addressed." One of the contributions carefully designed research can make is to illuminate factors in the acceptance and rejection of proffered aid. The study by Meyer and Borgatta does not provide answers on this point, although the authors discuss the problem realistically and suggestively in their concluding chapter. Future evaluation studies will no doubt have this problem thrust upon them as this study did. Those of us engaged in such studies need to include in our research designs assessment of the orientation of the prospective client toward the service program, or run the risk of losing much of the power of an elegant design because it does not jibe with that orientation.

GENE G. KASSEBAUM

Cornell University Medical College

Parental Authority: The Community and the Law. By Julius Cohen, Reginald A. H. Robson and Alan Bates. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1958. xii, 301 pp. \$6.00.

Sharply focused interdisciplinary research, although productive, is extremely difficult to achieve. Indeed, genuine interdisciplinary research of any sort is rarely executed. Its absence has been especially apparent in research situations requiring cooperation between lawyers and sociologists. In this book, however, a lawyer and two sociologists have turned their pioneering endeavor into what this reviewer considers a significant contribution to the sociology of law.

The authors set for themselves the task of comparing legal norms governing parent-child relationships with the *moral sense* of the community regarding these same relationships. The legal norms "represented the choices that the courts in the jurisdiction probably would have made—by virtue

of existing statutes, precedents or analogies — if the specific situations were presented to them in litigious form" (p. 14). The moral sense represented what the respondents thought the law ought to be in these same specific situations. "When each respondent was asked whether the law ought to allow (or prevent) certain conduct in situations involving child-parent relationships, we were seeking to explore the extent to which the community desired to have an authoritative arm of government, with power to impose sanctions, control or regulate such conduct" (p. 16).

It was the feeling of the writers that many jurists, especially those inclined to treat the moral sense as a scientifically observable phenomenon rather than relying upon intuitive hunches, would be interested in the findings of such a study. In the other camp, sociologists would be interested in the relationships between these two major social institutions, changing attitudes toward certain aspects of child-rearing, and the unequal rates of change in community attitudes and in the law regarding parent-child relationships.

Since the primary goal of this work was methodological, unusual care was taken with the research design, the primary features of which were the interview schedule, selection and training of interviewers, drawing a representative sample, and checking the representativeness of the sample of the respondents drawn. Since limitations of space prevent an exhaustive discussion of the research procedure, it is sufficient for present purposes to note that each step, as described by the authors, was guided by the desire to achieve scientific precision. They describe their sample as a "proportionate stratified random sample" (p. 28). The universe from which the sample of 860 persons was drawn was defined as "all inhabitants of Nebraska of the age of 21 and over who are mentally competent and who are not in any state institution such as a jail or reformatory" (p. 28).

The issues to be explored in the interviews were divided into three categories: (1) questions which deal with different aspects of parental authority over children; (2) questions which deal with the extent to which the law should or should not grant autonomy to the child in his relations with his parents; and (3) questions concerning how financial responsibility for needy members of the family should be allocated as between other members of the family and the government.

The findings revealed that legal norms and community attitudes were often markedly at variance. For example, the "ma-

jority of the community feels that the law should restrict parental control over children in a substantially greater number of ways than the law actually does at the present time" (p. 113). Moreover, the majority of the community would grant pre-adolescent children more autonomy than does the law. There was one issue, however, in which the community was in substantial agreement with the law: that of governmental responsibility for needy family members. A majority of the community would leave the support of indigent parents and indigent emancipated children primarily to the family rather than to government.

Except for Catholic-Protestant differences, indicated by a greater willingness of Protestants than Catholics to have the law restrict parental control over the child, socioeconomic differences had virtually no bearing upon the views of the respondents. The authors' explanation for Catholic-Protestant differences will not be new to students of sociology.

This book contains other illuminating material which cannot be here discussed; therefore persons interested in the sociology of law and in the family should not fail to read this work. The research procedure is careful, the legal and sociological analyses penetrating, and the concluding statements moderate but justifiably confident.

JOHN W. MARTIN

Dillard University

Who Runs Our Schools? By Neal Gross. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958. xvi, 195 pp. \$4.75.

In a nation where "local control" of education has reached the proportions of a dogma rather than a theory to be debated, it is the local school board (over 50,000 of them) and superintendents who are finally responsible for the conduct of public schools. Persons holding these offices make decisions on such matters as improving the curriculum, carrying out court orders on integration, and what values will be taught and emphasized. This book, in contrast to the broad surveys of American education by Conant, Woodring, Hanna, DeKiewiet, and Barzun, is an evaluation of problems facing school administrators in one state, Massachusetts. It presents information on the stated attitudes of the men "who run our schools" about themselves and others. The data were obtained through lengthy interviews with approximately half the superintendents and their school board members serving in 1952-53. These 105 superintendents and 508 board members represented a random sample of all persons in these positions. The study is part of the

Harvard University School Executive Series. It was financed by five philanthropic sources and completed while the author was at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Gross attempts to answer such questions as: who holds the superintendents back?; who blocks or supports the public schools?; why do people want to become school board members?; and how well are the school boards doing? A number of operational definitions were derived from respondents' statements and used to analyze the data. Many of these operational definitions are poorly formulated, obscure in meaning, and value-laden. For example, in discussing why some people want to become school board members the author distinguishes between "good" and "bad" motivations. "Those motivated by 'civic duty' have what we can call 'good' motivation." (And) "Those motivated by the desire to represent a particular group in the community have what we call 'bad' motivation . . ." (p. 76). By this logic the author is lead to conclude that "Catholics

are less likely than others to have 'good' motivations for seeking election to the board" (p. 80) because, says the author, they are mainly involved in partisan politics and represent a particular religious group.

The book may serve as a useful guide to those interested in knowing what some Massachusetts administrators think about themselves and others. The author suggests some ways to strengthen local educational systems, e.g., more laws, encouraging "good" citizens to run, and a school advisory service. Social scientists may find this study lacking in methodological sophistication. Notable flaws are: excessive use of tables, continuous reference to the "other report by the same authors," no footnoting, a parochial bibliography referring mainly to agency broadsheets, failure to place the subject in a social context, and excessive anxiety about "hurting someone's feelings."

THOMAS LUCIEN BLAIR

State University of New York

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